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THE NATIONAL MAGAZINE.

Vol. XVII.

NOVEMBER, 1892.

No. 1.

THE EARL OF BELLOMONT AND THE SUPPRESSION OF PIRACY 1698-1701.¹

THE administration of Richard, Earl of Bellomont, as governor of the province of New York, was a brief one, extending only from the 2d of April, 1698, when he arrived, to the 5th of March, 1701, when he died. Nevertheless it was one of mark, owing to his personal character, to the circumstances in which he was placed, and to what he endeavored to do. From almost the beginning, or so soon as his purposes revealed themselves, with scarcely a week's interval after his arrival, it was one of bitter opposition, personal attack, and struggle with contending elements. Probably nothing but the king's continued favor carried him through. But upon a man of sixty-two,—his age when he undertook the government,—a man afflicted with the gout, even yet that most defiant and painful disorder; one who sometimes worked from nine in the morning till ten at night, with scarcely time for meals, and amid a sea of worries, the effect was sure to show itself. The gout in the end

conquered a robust constitution and caused his death, before his undertakings were in any way complete.

A few years before Bellomont's coming occurred the Leisler troubles; in fact, they are involved with his own history. During their continuance there appeared and was circulated "A Modest and Impartial Narrative of the Great Oppressions &c. of Jacob Leisler and his Accomplices," in 1690. Its dissembling title commended it, seemed to disarm suspicion, and it has more than once since its date been accepted as contemporaneous truth. But Jared Sparks indorsed upon his own copy: "Written by a violent enemy of Leisler; neither just, candid nor impartial." The larger histories in their march through many periods and scenes cannot fail, at times, to do injustice and wrong to individuals and events. Indeed, it is to a great extent the work of later historians, as of second editions, to correct the errors of previous ones. There is an advantage in monographs; and yet,

¹ From "The Memorial History of New York."

with all care, inaccuracies will creep in. Concerning Lord Bellomont, there is a monograph by Mr. Jacob B. Moore and another by Mr. Frederic De Peyster. But in the historical omnibus there is always room for one more, whose standpoint and contribution may be different.

In a sketch of Lord Bellomont it is quite necessary, in the first place, to obtain a knowledge of the man himself, his history and personal traits. A man's acts are judged as often by what we know or conceive him to be, the man himself by his acts.

We should take into the account, in interpreting the man, his personal appearance, his English breeding and tastes, and the position he occupied. He was in person almost an ideal nobleman, large of frame, tall and dignified, with head well shaped and set, and hands small and white; with a usually thoughtful face, yet one capable of a sparkling vivacity; with eyes dark and kindly, and a voice low and musical. He could tell a story charmingly and enjoy a hearty laugh. In dress he was always elegant, and bore himself everywhere with ease and grace. In addition, he represented the king, and was himself a nobleman of rank; circumstances which, however liberal his tendencies, or however genial his ordinary demeanor, would be likely to flare out at times amid the difficult duties and collisions of his station, especially if he were suffering the irritating, pulsing pains of the gout. Lord Bellomont's grandfather Sir Charles Coote, was a famous, and even merciless, fighter against the Irish in the rebellion of 1641. The family, however, continued in Ireland; and upon the

restoration of Charles II., in which they had taken an active part, the two sons of Sir Charles were created respectively, in 1660, Earl of Montrath and Baron Coote of Colooney. In due time the baron's title and estates fell to his son Richard, the future Earl of Bellomont. This latter title came to him only in 1689, after the accession, of William. Being a stanch Protestant, at the accession of James he quitted England, or rather Ireland, and remained on the Continent till peremptorily summoned back by James. But he was a leader in the movement to bring William to the throne, as his father and uncle had been to bring Charles. It was the beginning of warm personal relations with William, who, speedily after his accession, made him treasurer and receiver-general to the queen. For all this, James's transient Jacobite Parliament in Dublin attainted him and confiscated his Irish property. Nevertheless, it was a step upward for the baron, for, among other marks of royal favor, William created him Earl of Bellomont.

Such, and in such relations with the king, was the governor whose administration we are to trace. Nor, in this connection, would it be right to leave unnoticed his wife, the Countess of Bellomont. The earl had a house, entertained, and maintained a table, and a statesman's table may be made a very important annex to his administration. How much, in those days, depended upon the mistress of the house, her taste, her skill, her manners, her ability to preside and direct the whole! It is remarkable that, young as she was, only thirty-three, occupying such a position, and the

first countess who had been seen therein, so little is anywhere said about Lady Bellomont. Yet the earl lived in great style, she was in no sense a recluse from society, and he (we are told) "was very fond as well as very proud of her." It is, at least, a tribute to her worth, her amiability and general manners, that nothing from those days has come down to us against her. She was Catherine, only child and heiress of Bridges Nanfan, Esq., of Birts-Morton, Worcestershire, England, where the family occupied an ancient and moated manor-house, remarkable for a very curious chimney-piece, described but not illustrated in Nash's history of the county, town, and family. It is said the earl married her in 1660, at twelve years of age, both statements being made dubious by the fact that she was not born till 1665. Or, if the latter doubtful one be true, it may be said that she married early and late, and continued to marry so long as she had that earthly privilege. For, after the earl's death in 1701, and her own return to England a year and a half later, this gracious lady, who evidently had attractions and retained them, married Admiral William Caldwell. After his death in 1718, to him succeeded Edmund Pitts, Esq., of Kyre; and to him in 1738, in her seventy-second year, William Bridgen, at the time a merchant, afterward an alderman, and in 1764 Lord Mayor of London. She survived this last marriage only two or three months; but if, in youth, her taste selected one who was thirty years her senior, at the riper age of seventy-two it veered to one who was perhaps as much her junior. Her two sons

were successively Earls of Bellomont.

That so distinguished a man as Bellomont should now be selected as governor of New York, shows the growing importance of the colonies in British estimation. Moreover, it was a personal tribute to his character. He was selected by the king himself upon his personal knowledge of him, and in view of duties which required as prime factors resolution



Bellomont

and integrity. He was to be governor of New-York, Massachusetts, and New Hampshire, from the sea-board to Canada and the Indian country. His commission was dated November, 1697, but through various delays he did not arrive in New York until April 2, 1698. It now becomes necessary to refer to clouds that were already upon the horizon and ominous before he ever set foot in the city, before he

even left England. I allude in this place to his known views as to the execution of Lieutenant-Governor Leisler.

He had denounced that execution from his place upon the floor of Parliament. How thoroughly he was convinced may be judged from a remark of his to Rev. Increase Mather, which the latter repeated in a letter to Chief-Judge Dudley, who had presided at the trial, that "those men [Leisler and Milborne] were not only murdered, but barbarously murdered."

And now a remarkable pamphlet appeared, another of the kind of the "modest and impartial narrative" to which we have already referred. It was entitled "A letter from a gentleman of the city of New-York to another, concerning the troubles which happened in that province in the time of the late happy revolution." It went over the old story of Leisler and his terrible doings, and his righteous end in 1691. Had it been what it purported to be, a simple letter of one "gentleman" to another, it would have been of small consequence. It was speedily answered by another entitled "Loyalty Vindicated, an answer to a late false, seditious and scandalous pamphlet;" the inspirer, if not the actual writer, of which it assumes to be Bayard. And it is curious to notice how, in the history of these troubled years, if the lid of events happens to open, as the Jack-in-the-box out jumps Bayard, certainly a very able, if perhaps unscrupulous, man. The significance of the pamphlet, however, was not in who wrote it, but in the time and circumstances of its publication. It was issued to

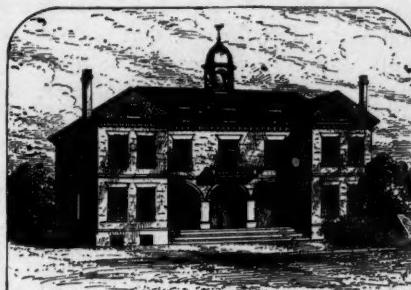
the public from the press of William Bradford, in 1698, just previous to the expected arrival of Bellmont, and with the official sanction of Governor Fletcher and his council! It is certainly pertinent to ask, what was their object and design in thus reopening the old story, at just that time, and in the face of a parliamentary verdict three years before? What was its bearing upon the expected governor? Is there not to be seen in it a prejudice to be created or cultivated; already the marshaling among the aristocratic party of an opposition, the throwing out of outworks and rifle-pits, against his administration? Without and before an act of his own, it was a threat and portent of trouble from that side.

When the earl and countess landed, the city corporation provided four barrels of powder for a burst of welcome. On the wharf were crowds, who, of course, took off their hats. It was, for the day, a fine reception. Then he received a corporation dinner, two aldermen and two assistant aldermen being the responsible parties to "make a bill of fare." "For the effectual doing thereof" they were authorized (out of the city treasury) "to call to their assistance such cooks as they should think necessary." It was a fine dinner—"venison, turkey, chicken, goose, pigeon, duck, and other game; mutton, beef, lamb, veal, pork, sausages, with pastry, puddings, cakes, and the choicest of wines." Mayor Johannes de Peyster, reputed the handsomest man in the city, presided. One hundred and fifty people dined with the new governor. A loyal address was read, and he was "delightfully affable with everybody."

Several stately dinner-parties were given. But these latter, which were, of course, by leading families, were the calm before the storm. Within a week after his arrival it came to his knowledge that the ship *Fortune*, Captain Moston, was in the harbor, with East India goods in "an unfree bottom." Here was, at once, a case contemplated in his "instructions." Mr. Chidley Brooke, the collector, was doing nothing in the matter, and the goods were being landed by boats, to the injury of his Majesty's customs revenue. When the earl ordered them seized, Mr. Brooke informed him that, it was not his business, that he had no boat to board the ship, and made other excuses; and only under positive command, and after three or four days' delay, did he seize the last boats and goods worth a thousand pounds, out of twenty thousand in all. Other like violations of the customs law the earl could not at the time prevent. Evidently, however, Mr. Brooke was not the man for the emergency, and he removed him. But the blow went deeper than Mr. Brooke; it reached not the people, but certain of the merchants, who were rich and growing richer through this foreign traffic who were influential and interested in the maintenance of things as they existed under Colonel Fletcher. They had not been used to such an administration of the laws. It is time, therefore, to open up a little the situation which the earl had to face.

Even under William, the English acts of trade, it must be confessed, were rigidly framed in favor of England and its home commerce. They were not popular in the colonies,

against which they discriminated. Colonial foreign trade was limited to England itself, and in ships built, owned, and commanded by people of England or the colonies. The latter had to pay a tax of five per cent, on imports and exports for the benefit of the mother-country; and they were taxed on what they sent to the other colonies, without right of export from there to the outside world. Revenue to England and a monopoly was the main thought of English colonial legislation. These laws Governor Fletcher, as well as Governor Bellomont, was



THE NEW CITY HALL, 1700.

under oath, obligated to enforce, but they had not been enforced. There had grown up a traffic, through protected "privateers," and, perhaps, collusion with pirates, the center of which was the East Indian Ocean and the island of Madagascar—a traffic by which the merchants were becoming greatly enriched, but the revenue was not benefited. The goods which, whether obtained out there by privateering, by piracy, or by exchange with pirates, cost little, were brought to New York, and allowed by the officials to be landed, to the immense profit of the merchants, their consignees. But as to the revenue, by a

comparison of the different years, the earl discovered that, whilst trade and the city had greatly increased—had, indeed, doubled—it was less than it had been ten years before. It may now be understood why the seizure of the goods aboard the Fortune produced such subsequent uproar. There were twenty-two merchant-owners of the lading. Some of these ships brought immensely more in value. It would drive away trade, would ruin the town, had already hindered the "privateers from bringing in £100,000"—so said the merchants, who immediately raised a tumult against Lord Bellomont. Our present study, however, relates not to them but to Lord Bellomont, his character, and that of his administration. "He came," says Schuyler, "when the country was at peace, trade had begun to revive, and prosperity was beginning"; but he was so "anxious to set up a new standard of government and to introduce new methods, that he soon involved himself in controversies and quarrels which made his life a burden and hastened his death." Yes, trade had certainly begun to revive, was reviving at a most extraordinary rate. "Arabian gold and East India goods were everywhere common." Where did they come from? Not from England, not from the colonies, nor had they passed the custom-house. Did not the officials know? Certainly; everybody knew. Mr. Brooke knew, who was also a member of the council. What was Lord Bellomont to do? what was it his duty to do? In this matter the tumult of the merchants against him should not deceive us, however respectable and influential their po-

sition. So much the worse. They talked of the "late happy revolution" to show their loyalty; they held government offices, and persistently violated the laws. Nor did they, like the merchants of Boston, boldly express their "indignation at the acts of navigation" in a protest to the government itself; maintaining their right as English subjects to the privileges enjoyed by Englishmen. That was the difference between them.

That Bellomont had reason enough for his efforts to restrain the traffic, and right there in its center, would be easy to show. "The money brought in was dearly purchased" (was governor Bradford's testimony) by the vices and evils engendered in the community. It infected the people. This demoralization was one of his main difficulties. But whether the "method" proposed would accomplish anything was very questionable; it was too easy to escape. And certainly it was not "prescribed" by law. He did well, therefore, to yield to their decision. Nevertheless, it brought to the front a reason more important to some of them than the legal one, a reason in which all of them, it is to be supposed, more or less sympathized. It was the point of feeling; it had never been "practised there before!" The words can only properly apply to recent years, William's reign, during which alone the difficulty had existed; that is, to ex-Governor Fletcher's administration. There was where "reform" measures touched them. Ships had gone and come without inquiry, let or hindrance; or rather, they had been let go. It was expecting much and too much of Mr. Frederick Philipse,

for instance, to suppose that he would now consent to a measure which required of him "good security" that his own ships should not "trade with pirates"—unless he wished to set a good example! Either as merchants or as a council they were all more or less, officially at least, involved in what had been "practised there before." They may have had no personal regard for Governor Fletcher; or they may have been willing, when they could, to separate themselves from his doings. On May 8, some of them, "the gentlemen then present," on the strength of certain depositions laid before them, thought he ought to be sent home "a prisoner." But it is evident enough that this did not represent the majority sentiment. It is not the writer's place nor purpose to enter into the preceding administration further than it concerns Lord Bellomont.

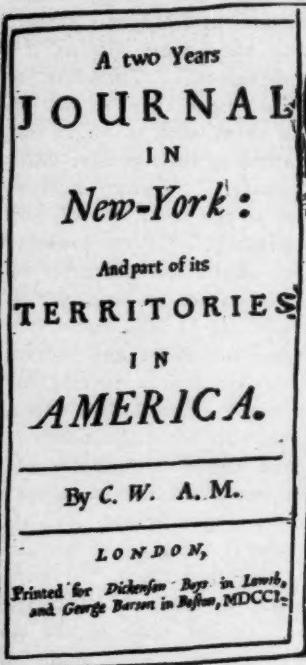
We now turn to the assembly, the important popular body, although it numbered but nineteen members. The actual origin and beginning of the New York assembly was with Leisler. It was the natural outcome of his democratic ideas, and he first called it into being. Back of him and into Stuyvesant's time the advocates of larger liberty for the people had rapped at the doors of successive governors for recognition, but had failed in their demands. The center of these demands was invariably certain towns on Long Island. There stood the tree which no gusts of royal or viceregal displeasure could "uproot, which only grew the more sturdily for the blasts it encountered. To Leisler we owe the first fruitage of this long waiting. William, for-

tunately, had the same liberal ideas, and by his orders to Sloughter in 1691 made that first experiment permanent. It had become already an institution of considerable power; for the country members, especially, were sometimes very stubborn and independent: "big" as said Governor Fletcher to them in his wrath in 1694, "big with the privileges of Englishmen and Magna Charta," and "taking upon them airs as if they were dictators!" Therefore, as he could not move them to his wishes, he told them, with an angry snap, to "withdraw to their private affairs in the country." "You are hereby pro-rogued to the tenth day of January next ensuing!" In the present posture of affairs the character of the assembly was of consequence to the governor. If it was controlled by the same influences and individuals that opposed him in the city, his position would be well nigh untenable. The assembly voted the money. The first one, called by him for May 8, was unimportant except as showing his principles of action. He should "consider it the glory of his government," he told them, "to find out some way to reconcile party spirit." "I will pocket none of the public money myself, nor shall there be any embezzlement by others;" his accounts should be furnished for inspection whenever desired. He did not hesitate to tell them in what state he had found the government. In fact, the assembly itself was an evidence of this on one point. His proclamation had commanded "all fairness of elections, and legal and just returns of representatives." Yet what was the case, even so early in

our history? The election of eleven, a majority, was disputed, but they kept their seats. The sheriff of New York and Orange Counties returned four persons as elected, and yet confessed that he had not allowed the people of Orange County to vote; and these four, together with other disputed members, kept out two who

sembly, was to Leislerians. But when appealed to by six members, the governor said he neither managed elections nor would he interfere with "the rights and liberties of the House of Representatives." However, as the assembly did nothing but wrangle for a month, he prorogued it.

We now revert to matters in and out of the council, previous to the next assembly. So far, one thing had been gained—the revenue was increasing under Van Cortlandt. In July the earl himself went to Albany to fulfil an appointment with the "Five Nations of Indians;" and it is an instance of his indomitable resolution and energy that, to be there punctually, he embarked in the midst of a fit of the gout, to the great hazard of his life, since he caught cold on the river, and "had like to have died" when he reached Albany. We need not recount his negotiations with the Indians, or with Count Frontenac, so long the plague of that frontier. To keep the Five Nations friendly in the face of French intrigue, Bellmont, like his predecessors, had to see them well. According to Domine Dellius, of Albany, who preached to and studied them, they were at this time among the very lowest in social morality, and were, to some extent, cannibals. It is just to note, in this connection, that three years before Eliot, the celebrated apostle to the Indians, held his first service, the Dutch ministers of Albany began a Christianizing work and preaching along the Mohawk valley. Between 1690, when Schenectady was burned, and 1697



FAC-SIMILE OF TITLE PAGE.¹

were regularly returned, on pretense that they were under attainder for taking part in the Leisler troubles! So old, in our politics, are election frauds, so early was the seeding of what has become a far-branching upas-tree! The injustice, in the as-

¹ The Rev. Charles Wooley published his journal of a residence of nearly two years in New York

City for the first time, it is believed, in the summer of 1701.

and the Peace of Ryswick in Europe, in Canada and the woods it was a state of war. But there were some so-called "Christian Indians;" and in fifteen years after 1702, there were recorded in the Schenectady church thirty-nine marriages, one hundred baptisms, and fourteen received as members; so that in 1880, at the two-hundredth anniversary, they joined the tortoise with the Holland pelican, the English lion and the American eagle, in remembrance of their early Indian membership. What havoc that war made may be told in figures. In 1689 the Five Nations had 2800 men; in 1698, 1320—a loss of 1480! In 1689 the city and county of Albany had 662 men, 340 women, and 1014 children; in 1698 through departures and casualties, 382 men, 262 women, and 805 children—a loss of 567. These figures, also show an average at the time of three children to an Albany family.

Individually, the different scenes of a tragedy or comedy only advance by so much the main thought of the piece. This must not be overlooked in the history of a period. On some narrow strip of land or upon some inland sea may have been fought, has before now been fought, a battle fateful to dynasties or countries. Yorktown decided the success of the Revolution, the separation of America from England. Said Lord North, the English premier, when he heard of it, "O God, it is all over!" Professor John Fiske closes his "Beginnings of New England" with the words, "The spirit of 1776 was foreshadowed in 1689." They may seem periods too far apart to connect, but are not so in reality, any more than

cars upon the same track, which are brought together and propelled, mile after mile, by the same spirit of steam in the engine. We speak of the "spirit of '76," almost as if it were something isolated and alone. It simply marked an advance, the ripening of grain long before sown. As the origin of the Revolution, Hutchinson refers to a slight which had been put upon the father of James Otis, in his not being chosen chief justice of the province; and says "from so small a spark a great fire seems to have been kindled"—that is, it made James Otis a malcontent against government and a patriot. President Adams said, better, "here began the Revolution"—not in that affront, a personal pique, but in the principles advocated by Otis. What fire of such dimensions could even Otis have kindled, had there been no burning material ready to hand in the minds of the people? It may seem far to carry back the beginning of that flame, or its preparation, to 1689. Were not popular liberty a principle of the reason with its germs in human nature, and, therefore, like everything of God's planting, destined to be developed, it might seem too great a length of time to carry it back to Roman days—to those old days when the Senate ruled, when the aristocracy was or thought itself the nation, when it took all conquered lands at a small quit-rent and handed them down from father to son; but when, also, in due time the Commons arose to claim their share. Defeated, suppressed, even disappearing for long periods, the spirit of liberty in and for the people lived on. The rule of English Oliver was a break in

the long subserviency to king and nobles. The year 1689 in New York (to which we return) brought another break; it gave coherency to a popular party—the first in its colon-

to intimidate the people. And now we have Bellomont in 1698, after the intervening years of virtual suppression, by his change of council and its effects, affording them an op-

Sir

Boston 9th Sept: 99.

I have rec'd yours of the 4th Inst. and will not fail to write to England abt. your affair in Van Swieten to this packet w^{ch} I am to send away within 4 or 5 days.

I am very sorry I have not the letter to Delling to send home. I desire you will speak to Mr. Waller to deliver you upon oath w^{ch} what was transacted between M^r. Graham and him at the time — Graham prevail'd wth Capt. Leisler and him to make an interest for Graham's being Ch^{ap} of the Assembly that graft'd Col^t. Slingsby to take away the lists of Capt. Leisler and M^r. Milburn, as writ to you in my last letter, and may get Dr. Shad^y's affidavit as I desire in that letter. It would tell me that Dr. Shad^y and the rest of Leisler's party have not in all this time got Counter-subscriptions fign'd by their party to Alibi^y against Delling, as the other party got subscriptions in favour of Delling. They are just the people that will Nicholas points Shad^y to be, in his pamphlet, impudentable &c — when you hear any news from Schenectady or the Tres for mth, pray let me know it. my wife and my service to Madam & Oyley — I am

I have writ to Col^t. Cudland to pay your affection^t friend & servant
you my son of glory, and for y^r sake to him to pay it to you morally as it grows me. *Bellomont*
Col^t. O'Prester

ial history. Leisler held his own for two years because he was backed by the people, not a "rabble." One avowed reason for his execution was

portunity to establish themselves, putting new life and vigor into them. It was a happy circumstance for the State, for that party grew in power

and was there when much needed, under subsequent royal governors of a different kind from Lord Bellomont. It may be said, also, that the Leislerians at this precise date, were the most honest party—not through any incorruptible grace, but because they came so largely from the as yet unsophisticated people; because they had been kept away from the public crib; because evils in the soil had not been watered by opportunity nor visited by the sunshine of Governor Fletcher's favor. So it happened that those original trade dishonesties obliged the earl to do the people's party and the State future a good turn—which, however, his own liberal principles allowed him to do heartily.

Early in October an event of marked interest took place. It was the interment of the bodies of Leisler and Milborne. For seven years since the execution in 1691, they had remained where they had been hastily placed, in a grave of dishonor, or it might be called a hole, at the foot of the gallows. Abraham Gouverneur and Robert Walters, with others of the family, now moved to have them receive Christian burial in the crypt of the old Dutch church. To this the governor assented, partly out of a "principle of compassion" for the family, but "chiefly" out of respect to the act of Parliament which, as he expressly says, legitimated Leisler's assuming the government. Of course it was furiously opposed; but the governor sent a guard of honor of a hundred soldiers. The disinterment took place at midnight. A "rank storm blew." Nevertheless, upward of twelve hundred people

were present, who, to the beating of muffled drums and with lighted torches, moved in procession to the City Hall. There the remains were permitted to lie in state for several days, and were then interred under the church. So ended, without any breach of the peace, this act of late justice; but without the relaxing of a muscle of that implacable hate among the old leaders and so much of the opposite faction, which had pursued the memory of these two men and pursued their adherents since 1691.

The new assembly was convened for March 2, 1699, but owing to bad weather and travel did not meet till March 21. Exciting times beforehand! It was a test question—Leislerian or anti-Leislerian! To secure a reasonable degree of fairness, the governor changed the old sheriffs and put in men of "better figure" in their counties. Nicolls especially was in his element—a practised political manager, active and indefatigable. More than once, it is said, he slept under a haystack, and he rode night and day about the country appealing to people to elect representatives who would oppose a "revenue." Good demagogue that he was, he made it out a matter of selfish interest to the people themselves, who were mostly farmers—and outside of the city, which was rich, they were comparatively poor; but his real meaning was that an assembly that would refuse to continue the revenue would be a sure means of ruining the earl's interest at court, and so of getting him "quickly called home!" Fortunately for themselves, the Leislerians in this canvass also had good

leaders. Abraham Gouverneur was one, and Robert Walters "twice swam a swollen stream when the ice was breaking!" Such was this early but by no means unimportant election campaign for members of the assembly; nor would the picture be complete without the mention of some fighting and broken heads at the polls. But the Leislerians were victorious; and it gives us the means of judging very nearly the relative strength of these two parties. The figures tell. The assembly had twenty-one members, of whom sixteen were Leislerians! In the city itself the vote was four hundred and fifty-five (freeholders) to one hundred and seventy-seven—the latter anti-Leislerians! To be sure, Bayard and Brooke were absent, but any change would have been relatively small. To Bellomont the victory was most important; for it showed that the people were largely with him; and besides this, upon the third day of the session these sixteen Leislerians voted him the "revenue," and its management, for six years, with the remaining one year of ex-Governor Fletcher's dotation added! To the Leislerian party it was important, for it gave them standing and power, with the governor and council and assembly in reasonable accord. We may well ask, however, in view of the figures, how so much smaller a party had kept the rule so completely and so long? As a matter of fact, twenty-eight or thirty persons had been the nucleus of every disturbance. The reasons are plain. They had acquired wealth, and assumed style and standing above their fellows; they were a coterie who held together and

pushed their class pretensions with persistent assertion and arrogance; they were the society that surrounded the incumbent governor and had his support; for years several of them had been steadily in office, Bayard for now forty years, until in the end, they turned what was at first only pretension sustained by wealth and viceroyal favor into a right which it was an insolence to dispute. These claims and their place in the public eye they meant to maintain; and under acute leaders like Bayard and Nicolls, their connection with the governor gave them the means and the power. When that connection ceased and it came to votes, as in Leisler's time and now, their ascendancy ceased, they shrank to a lean minority. One hold upon power they still had—it was Bellomont's weak and vulnerable point. By misrepresentation and clamor, as gentlemen of wealth and chief standing in the city, they might do him harm in England, might even compass his recall.

One incident of that assembly had a kind of grim humor, not at all to the taste of the person concerned. James Graham, the attorney-general, was for the nonce speaker. He was a son of the Scotch Earl of Montrose, a man of some fine intellectual and social gifts, but as a politician shifty and uncertain. He had already shown his ability to leap the political fence with neatness and despatch, and without a straddle. In 1691 he was active in Leisler's trial and condemnation; in 1698, Lord Bellomont's friend and a reputed Leislerian! No wonder (to quote the earl) he had "the ill-luck to be

hated by all parties in the House!" Especially was not Gouverneur, the husband of Mary Leisler, Milborne's widow, himself one of the "condemned six," and now the member for Orange and Kings, likely to forego a chance which offered itself to pay off some of the old score by humbling Graham. He drew up a petition to the king asking repayment of £2,700 expended by Leisler personally for the public service. It recounted his cruel treatment. This petition, if passed, it would be Graham's duty to sign and, at the head of the assembly, present to the governor. If he did not they meant to expel him; if he did, as he told Bellomont, it would be "cutting his own throat." From this plight the governor relieved him. His name had been for several months on the list approved by the king for the council, so the governor now swore him in and told the assembly they must elect another speaker. Gouverneur was then elected, and the petition was passed and sent by the governor to the king. It was the last incident relating to the Leisler family, or as to any reparation of damages sustained by members of the party, during the earl's administration.

When attention was called to it in England, accompanied by a schedule of the grants, the lords justices instructed Bellomont to use "all methods whatsoever allowed by law" for "breaking and annulling" them. Whereupon Mr. Attorney-General was directed to draw up a bill to that effect. He had been in favor of such a measure, and at his own suggestion six special grants had been

named in the bill. But when it was about to be acted upon in the council and assembly, what was the earl's amazement to hear him declare that it "could not be done," "'twas an original right by virtue of the great seal and the public faith of England!" Mr. Attorney had found a "quarter of meat" laid across his threshold, which he considered a menace that he was to be "quartered!" The earl laughed in his face; but evidently he had been "threatened," and went over the



SHOEMAKER'S LAND.

fence at once. In the house, and as speaker, he opposed the bill vehemently. With all his fine talents, and even brilliancy, it is certain that Mr. Graham was a coward and trimmer, utterly untrustworthy. Like a heron watching a frog-pond, he stood on one leg till expediency led him to change to the other, with the concomitant "ill-luck" of being hated and despised. Lord Bellomont was not of that kind. The council stood three to three, and he gave the casting vote. In the house it passed by a large majority. But before it could become fully effective,

it had to receive English approval. This it was which gave the earl his trouble; it transferred the conflict to the other side, where agents and agencies were busy to pull him down, whilst he was confined to his duties at home. Moreover, it brought in a fresh element of opposition—the clerical—which must now be explained.

A brief glance at the grants specially named in the assembly bill will best of all show the nature of the question. First of all was one to Colonel Nicholas Bayard, for which he paid Fletcher one hundred and fifty pounds, of lands on both sides of the Schoharie Creek, in Montgomery and Schoharie counties, some thirty miles in length—a grant not made in acres, but “in the lump by miles,” and as exactly measurable as a flock of wild pigeons! Another was to Colonel Henry Beekman, of Kingston, called the “great patentee.” When a boy asked a Dutch farmer if there was “any land in the moon,” he replied, “Colonel Beekman can tell you; for if there is any there, you may be sure he has got a patent for the bigger part of it!” This special grant was of sixteen miles square in Dutchess county, with lands on the Hudson eight miles in breadth by twenty in length. Another was to Captain John Evans of his Majesty’s frigate Richmond, which lay in the bay but did no service in improving the revenue: viz., lands forty miles in length by twenty in breadth, and which included the southern tier of towns in Ulster county, two thirds of Orange county, and part of Haverstraw in Rockland county! Colonel William Smith of the council received

about fifty miles of Nassau (Long) Island—all the vacant lands” not covered by “former patents!” William Pinhorn, Colonel Peter Schuyler, Domine Dellius and two others, obtained fifty miles of the Mohawk valley from Amsterdam to West Canada Creek in Herkimer county; whilst Domine Dellius individually secured on the east of the Hudson in Washington county a tract seventy miles long by twelve in breadth, and which extended into Vermont! For these they gave Fletcher something like fifty pounds apiece, and valued them at from five thousand pounds to twenty-five thousand pounds! A partial list merely of great grants, which yet left untouched eight or nine more. So had they parceled out the province among them! Familiar names in these troubles, some of them—Bayard, Pinhorne, Smith. The bill, however, connected with these two other small but important pieces of land. After the earl’s appointment to succeed Governor Fletcher, the latter leased to Colonel Caleb Heathcote, his special friend, “the pleasantest part of the King’s garden,” and to Trinity Church (for seven years) the “King’s farm,” a demesne of the fort and a perquisite of the governor attached to and around his residence. Thus we have in view the main elements of the coming struggle in England—the same old party, most of the great landholders, an abundance of money, with names known and influential, but now reinforced actively by Trinity Church and the Rev. William Vesey and Domine Dellius. Bayard and Brooke were already there; Domine Dellius (who had also been virtually deposed

by the bill) was soon on his way, with commendatory letters and seven hundred pounds in his pocket, and was expected to obtain the coöperation of the Classis of Amsterdam; whilst Mr. Vesey, in behalf of Trinity Church, invoked the aid of the Bishop of London, to secure, if possible, the recall of Lord Bellomont! Verily might he at this time be likened to a noble bull at bay teased and tormented by no inconsiderable adversaries!

Domine Dellius had often been among the Mohawk and River Indians on missionary work, and undoubtedly had an influence among them. His description of them we have already given. Peter Schuyler, the great diplomatist in Indian matters, had yet more influence; Pinhorne certainly had none. It was not gratitude for services rendered which induced the Mohawks to give away the best part of their lands to the five mentioned in that grant, and it should be enough to condemn the whole thing that Peter Schuyler and Major Wessels very soon resigned their share because of frauds in the purchase. Peter Schuyler has come down to us as one of the few men of standing in his day whose names were unspotted with dishonesty. Nor, in addition to that grant, can Domine Dellius be justified in his acquisition, individually, for a few knives and tobacco-pouches, of that other immense tract, covering so much of the northern part of the State. He had no family to leave it to; he had already traded with the Indians; and the indications are of a speculation of which not the province, but he, would reap the profit,

Nevertheless, he was now on his way to add his clerical character and grievances to the weight of testimony against the Earl of Bellomont.

The Rev. Mr. Vesey's course might seem strange. A young man of twenty-five, only two years rector of Trinity, who had dined often with the earl and ridden with him in his coach-and-six, to whom and his church, of which he was a communicant and constant attendant, the governor had done substantial favors; nevertheless, immediately after the passage of that bill he turned against him. Let it be recalled that the lease of that farm to Trinity Church was merely for seven years. The church was to pay twelve pounds a year, and it sublet it for twenty-five; but it was no part of its property taken away from it by the bill. Yet Mr Vesey immediately left the earl and his family out of the prayers; more than this, he prayed each Sunday for Domine Dellius by name, desiring God to give him a safe and prosperous voyage and great success with the king. Astonishing course for such a matter! The vestry, also wrote to Archbishop Tenison, mentioning this very lease, and only this, as an evidence of Bellomont's intention to destroy the church. Mr. Vesey himself had been brought there by Governor Fletcher and Colonel Heathcote, great patrons of the church. This, to him, was an attack on them and on Trinity; he took fire at once, and vehemently, as was his nature—a match that only needed rubbing; but principal, with Willett and others of the party, in the vestry was the inevitable, indefatigable Nicolls.

It will bring this topic to a close to say that they did not succeed in their principal object. They did delay and for the time prevent the approval of the bill. The earl himself did not live to see it approved. In 1705, Lord Cornbury induced the assembly to repeal the action of 1699, and to donate this land to Trinity Church. Again, however, it lacked the royal approval; and in 1708, Queen Anne "repealed and declared it null and

The result to Mr. Vesey was that in 1700 the Bishop of London advised him to make his submission to the earl. He did it, and the latter promised to be his friend, "provided he behaved himself peaceably and discreetly for the future."

On May 16, 1699, Bellomont pro-rogued the assembly, embarked for Boston on board a "little galley" which Lieutenant-Governor Stoughton had sent, and arrived the 26th—not a modern or model yacht. Another cold caught at sea, another fit of the gout, and long letters to write! But the Bostonians received him handsomely. An immense procession of military and citizens accompanied him—"such a vast concourse of people," says John Marshall in his diary, "as my poor eyes never saw the like before;" and, "to end all, fireworks and good drink all night!" Not "to end all," for on the 31st Rev. Increase Mather, for his brethren—better representing Boston—made him a fine address. It is not necessary to particularize this visit, but the contrast may serve as a side-light upon matters in New York. The earl had been a year in New York; he was fourteen months in Boston. Parties existed there as in New York, the same trade laws prevailed, the merchants were a bold and outspoken class, there was a governor's council and a general court or assembly—to this extent the conditions were the same. Hutchinson says that as a presiding officer of the general court he was unparliamentary, would mingle in the debates, propose business, and frequently recommend bills he wished passed. Some of these the court refused to



Will. Vesey.

void," and restored, with her approval, the Bellomont bill as he had framed it. That bill showed his nobleness—it forbade himself or any other governor to lease that particular farm and garden property for longer than his own term to the prejudice of his successor. Also, whilst the bill was under fire in England, and bad man as he thought Domine Dellius to be, he wrote that he did not wish his claim vacated unless all were vacated; it would not be just.

pass, saying, "they were too much cramped in their liberties already, and they would be great fools to abridge by a law of their own, the little that was left them." Such was their spirit. They would not increase by an iota the prerogatives of the crown. "Yet all was done good-naturedly, without giving offense," says Barry. And so popular was his Excellency that during his stay the general court granted him twenty-five hundred pounds (about \$8,000), a much larger sum than his predecessors had received or than fell to the lot of some who came after him. Hutchinson calls him a "hypocrite" in religion. Why? It was the custom of the general court to adjourn and attend in a body the "Boston weekly lecture," and he, although an Episcopalian, went with them and apparently enjoyed it. Moreover, he treated the ministers with marked attention and regard. In a word, the earl showed himself throughout, affable, polite, and liberal; although he was too English and too good a servant of the crown to like all their ways. In return, rigid as they were, and sensitive to intrusion upon their liberties, he did not find "the hearts of the male inhabitants" (to quote scurrilous John Ward) "like their streets, paved with pebbles." What made the difference in his case between the two cities? Was the earl a different man in New York; or was it that selfish greed of a class with whom he was obliged to interfere, and for which interference they hated and maligned him? Is it wonderful that, with consciously failing health, and until he knew whether he was to be sustained in England, he preferred

to return to Boston, after a duty discharged in Rhode Island, rather than to go on to new conflicts in New York.

Soon after his arrival in Boston, the governor was fortunate enough to capture the noted pirate Captain William Kidd, on July 6, 1699; and it permits us to return to the earlier subject of "privateers" and piracy, so closely connected with this history. And especially does Kidd's connection with Bellmont and the completeness of his history require a proper statement. In these days piracy had transferred itself from the older buccaneering centers to the Indian Ocean. One of the principal retreats of pirates was Madagascar. There they consorted with the dusky daughters of the island, and the descendants of such were there accidentally discovered many years ago. From this and other resorts they sallied out in search of plunder. Several of the Oriental nations had a marine of their own, and these they plundered, Moors, Armenians, and others; returning in due time to their island nests with the spoils thus accumulated, "Arabian gold and East India goods." How convenient to have rum and other necessities of their calling brought for them to Madagascar; in exchange for which, being sailors and not traders, they would, of course, give free-handed measures of gold and goods! For the trader, as things were with the officials, a few saleable negroes, picked up on the way, would be tarpaulin enough to cover a cargo; the whole transaction was black. Evidently a ship loading for Madagascar was justly to be suspected, whatever the

pretext made. Sometimes, however, the pirates themselves came boldly upon the coast. Even Penn's Quakers tolerated occasional visits because they spent their money freely. The whole coast, from Rhode Island to the Carolinas, was honeycombed with places of stowage or markets for their goods. Sometimes they came to the city itself. So did Captain Thomas Tew, whom Fletcher found so companionable that he took him to drive in his coach, and whom he was so anxious to convert, and to whom he gave a book on the "vile habit of swearing!" This man was one of the worst, most daring and successful of all; he made a fortune and retired to Rhode Island, but again returned to his old pursuits and succeeded in getting himself killed. Ultimately, others of them settled down in Rhode Island, upon the south side of Long Island and in the Carolinas, and left reputable descendants.

Out-and-out, unblushing piracy of this sort the merchants of New York, or such of them as engaged in the Madagascar trade, did not commit; and the council was perfectly willing to condemn it. Had they thought of it sooner—in 1696 instead of in 1698—Tew might have been arrested, instead of walking their streets and dining so often at the governor's table. What the merchants did was to send traders under the name and style of "privateers," sanctioned by the governor, to Madagascar and the adjacent seas. Privateering against an enemy's shipping in war time has been practised by ourselves and other nations, but under conditions of proper adjudication of prizes, goods,

and money. Outside of these restrictions, it would be piracy. But the ships that went out from New York were not in search of an enemy; they were bound regularly to Madagascar. And why were they not themselves molested in those seas, from which they invariably returned with rich cargoes? Their methods, upon reaching the coast, have been given in the preceding chapter, and we need not repeat them. We may say, however, that at the east end of Long Island, where lived Chief Justice William Smith (known by the sobriquet of "Tangier Smith," as he had been governor of Tangier, and to distinguish him from the later chief justice of the same name but different family), the revenue was clipped through loose practices even worse than in New York. Yet these merchants, in and out of the council, with Colonel Bayard at their head, were highly indignant when Bellomont, who never minced words, bluntly called the transaction "piracy," "dealing with pirates;" and they declared that he "had vilely slandered eminent and respectable persons!" Of course it was an outrage and an insult to suspect such people, however evident the circumstances! But the earl himself must have thought that one company of these very merchants would hardly have offered him a large bribe to let them alone without good reason for so doing.

Once in the council, they turned upon him with the charge that he had actually set Captain Kidd afloat. He felt it keenly, for in a measure it was true. It was an *argumentum ad hominem* which, however, could not prevent his doing his duty. The

earl's agreement in 1695 with Livingston and Kidd (who afterward turned pirate) has been introduced into a preceding number, but the full history belongs here. We may premise, then, that when he was captured that 6th of July, 1699, Kidd had not always nor for long been a pirate, not till that last fatal voyage which he began in 1696. In 1691 the assembly had paid him one hundred and fifty pounds for good public services, and he had distinguished himself in the West Indies. He had a comfortable home in Liberty street, New York, an estimable wife, and a little daughter. He was himself a man of some culture, and up to the time of his disgraceful lapse there had been no manifest reason to suspect him. In 1695 he sailed for London. The Admiralty were in urgent need of a vessel to send against the pirates, whose depredations were causing them trouble; but the French war absorbed every ship. Some of them were understood to be from New York, Rhode Island, and other colonies, and it was this that brought Robert Livingston and William Kidd so prominently into the scene. Livingston was at the time in London on his own business—a man whose Scotch pedigree gave him access to court circles, a man shrewd and capable of influence wherever he was. When Bellomont spoke to him of their difficulty and of the connection of these men with it, he suggested a privateer and Kidd as a suitable man

to command it. After discussion by the king, Lord Somers, the Earls of Oxford, Romney, and Bellomont, his suggestion was adopted, the king himself offering to be one of the parties. These were the circumstances that preceded that agreement of Bellomont with Livingston and Kidd. By its terms it was to be a privateer



BROAD STREET AND EXCHANGE PLACE IN 1700.

expedition, commissioned under the great seal, against the king's enemies and pirates; Boston was to be the place for adjudicating prize-claims; and a regular bond was taken from Livingston and Kidd. Apparently Kidd was as strongly bound to fidelity as a naval officer, and, had he remained faithful, nothing would have been heard of it. Even as experienced statesmen, watched by adverse parties, they evidently saw nothing objectionable about the transaction. It was Livingston who by his strong indorsement of Kidd brought them into trouble. Perhaps had Bellomont known him better he would not so readily have trusted to it. Colonel Fletcher attributed to him the remark that "he had rather be called

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knave Livingston than poor Livingston." Certainly he kept industriously out of reach of the latter opprobrious epithet. He began as town clerk of Albany and Indian agent; and in twenty years, by loans to government, by contracts, by purchase from the Indians and such means, had accumulated one hundred and sixty thousand acres of the best lands on the Hudson. In politics he was shrewdly variable: against Leisler; helping his son in England; for Bellomont, or against him, as the wind blew, as it might suit his interests. Not a man to trust implicitly. But, in this case, he was probably himself deceived in Kidd. He hoped to make money, and in the end, with the rest, lost his venture.

Captain Kidd started upon his voyage in October, 1696. Perhaps he distrusted himself; it is said he did not want to go. He sailed for New York, where he increased his force by about a hundred men, but loitered for nearly three months. In an article published in Hunt's "Merchant's Magazine" for January, 1846, Mr. Henry C. Murphy has minutely traced his course. For a year no vessel was captured. He told his men he was lying in wait for the Mocha fleet. When it appeared it was convoyed by an English and a Dutch ship, and his attack was unsuccessful—his first leap into piracy! After a few less important captures, in December, 1697, he took an Armenian vessel of four hundred tons, the Quedagh Merchant, a prize worth £64,000, of which his own share was £16,000. Afterward he plundered the Banian merchants, and in May, 1698, took the Quedagh Merchant to Madagas-

car. For these outrages he was now publicly declared a pirate. From Madagascar he sailed in a sloop he had bought, with forty men for New York, evidently hoping to make a successful plea that some of his captures were French and that what was wrong his crew had made him do. He first put into Delaware Bay, June, 1699; then sailed round the east end of Long Island into the sound as far as Oyster Bay, and communicated with his family. Nearer to New York he never came after turning pirate. There Mr. James Emott joined him, one of the council against Leisler, counsel for Bayard on his subsequent trial, a vestryman of Trinity, a person of standing. Kidd carried him to Rhode Island and landed him, with a mission to the earl at Boston for a safe-conduct. At Block Island his wife and little daughter came aboard. Thence he went over to Gardiner's Island, with whose owner he left part of his treasure, which was afterward given up to the authorities. Then he sailed for Boston, arriving off the coast on July 1. The earl's message to him was, that if "what Mr. Emott said was true," he might come ashore. It was his only way to get him ashore. He came at last, but could not clear himself; was arrested, and, after long waiting for a ship, was carried to London, where, a year afterward, he was tried and executed, May, 1701. Such is, in brief, the story of his really unsuccessful piratical career, out of which have grown ballads and many diggings for mythical "buried treasures" along our Atlantic coast, and in various rivers and bays.

How important to the earl his cap-

ture was becomes apparent from what was going on in England. There a fierce political battle was raging. Their enemies were trying to ruin Lord Chancellor Somers and the Earl of Oxford, Lord High Admiral, by impeachment before the Commons. One of the charges was passing Kidd's commission under the great seal. The delay of a week in apprehending him at Boston, the delay in getting him to London, were both made use of—they indicated partnership. Bellomont's name was freely used. The New York agents seized the opportunity to press for his removal. But Bellomont himself sent the agreement and other papers relating to the case; and when it came to the vote, it stood 56 for acquittal to 23 against. As if, however, to try the metal and mechanism of his mind to the utmost, an unexpected blow fell upon Bellomont. Parliament was in a bad humor with the king. He had dispensed the Irish confiscated estates too freely among his favorites. Without any distinction between those enriched by "injudicious partiality" and those "sparingly rewarded" for services, they abolished all the grants. It nearly made a rupture with the king, but he at last yielded. This deprived the earl of one thousand pounds a year out of his income. It was a serious loss to him, but one borne with his usual reserve of feeling and uncomplaining dignity.

Stories from the other side, sent home and circulated, had their effect in elating his opponents with hopes of his speedy removal and in making the Leislerians timid. They were not sustaining him, as he thought

they should do, by representations counter to Dellius and the others in England. When he returned from Boston (by sea, July 24, 1700) it was not a pleasant exchange of cities to him. It was a regular spinning-bee he had dropped into, where they spun all sorts of stories against him for the English market and kept their tongues buzzing spitefully at the same time. During a visit which Colonel Nicholson and Governor Penn made to him, they tried to reconcile matters between him and the merchants; but he said he had no advances to make unless they could prove that he had oppressed them in their trade contrary to law; and if the terms of reconciliation were to be his indulging them in unlawful trade and piracy, on those points he should be as "steady as a rock." So they continued implacable; but he had gained this much, that the Madagascar trade was apparently at a standstill and piracy on the wane—much to do for one man who had no ships to help him and so few reliable officials. The Admiralty sent no men-of-war to the East, nor any to the coast; the lords of trade or the lords justices gave him their orders, but as to the means left him practically unsupported. He had to create them as he could, without illegality or force, in the face of the most influential and strenuous opposition at home and abroad. Just at this time, as he wrote to the king, he would much prefer an honest judge and a trustworthy attorney-general to two ships of war. From Chief Justice Smith he could get little aid; he lived one hundred miles away, was rarely present at the council, and, thorough-



LORD BELLOMONT REVIEWING COLONEL ABRAHAM DE PEYSTER'S REGIMENT IN PEARL, THEN QUEEN STREET.

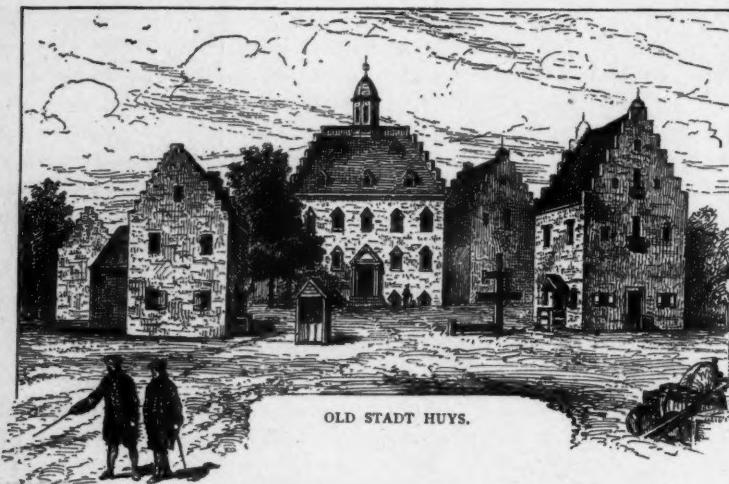
ly indisposed to whatever touched the late order of things. His natural adviser in matters of procedure was the attorney-general; but in his opinions Mr. Graham was as unsteady as a weathercock, one thing in the morning, another in the afternoon, and in him the earl had utterly lost his old confidence. Besides, although the earl was not aware of it, since Mr. Graham lived eight miles away and did not come to town, he was now really sick and near his end. Not knowing this, he removed him in January, only a few days before his death. But already the lords of trade had commissioned Mr. Atwood for the place of judge and Mr. Broughton to be attorney-general, although they did not leave England till after the earl's death. Just at this time, also, the lieutenant-governor was absent in Barbados; and, above all, in November he lost his best assistant as a public officer, the collector Stephanus Van Cortlandt. Under his good management the revenue had doubled. Although himself a great landowner, one allied by everything in and around him to his party, and therefore often opposed to the earl, yet of those who took part in Leisler's death, and with that one thing excepted, none has left so fair and honorable a record as Stephanus Van Cortlandt. By one of time's strange changes, with him in the council before his death were Abraham De Peyster, so efficient with Leisler in the opening of the revolution; Dr. Staats, one of the condemned of Leisler's council; and he was now succeeded by William Lawrence, another of Leisler's council. Mr. Weaver took his place as collector of the port.

The burdens thus imposed upon and borne by the earl during his administration, and not less during the closing months, while he was being so "pushed at" in England, and was so utterly uncertain of the result, may now be seen. Shortly after his return the assembly met. The session was short, not up to the earl's wishes in the matter of fortifying the frontier; but they passed an act which, perhaps, they thought answered as well and saved the money. It threatened the severest penalty of the law against Jesuits and Catholic priests who should come into the province. The reason of it was that Romanism meant France, and France meant Romanism; in the woods or in the province the presence of a priest was, therefore, to them the sure sign and foreleg of some new intrigue, some new danger, from France, in particular Canada. On August 10, the earl went to Albany. The Indians were slow in coming to meet him, and again the Jesuit was supposed to be the cause of it. When they did come they were sullen and out of humor, and gave him (as he says) eight days of the greatest fatigue he ever underwent in his whole life. We can imagine it: the elegant and well-dressed earl "shut up in a close chamber with fifty sachems, who, besides the stink of bear's grease with which they were plentifully bedaubed, were continually smoking or drinking drams of rum!" A surplus of perfumery worse than musk—enough to give him a fit of the gout! But the conference being ended, with presents on the one side and compliments to my lord and lady (who always went with

him) on the other, they were eight days returning "in a little nasty sloop" which made his journey "extremely tiresome." The usual annoyances, and even greater, awaited him in New York. His enemies were now quite sure of his recall and acted accordingly. It is not at all probable that he would have been recalled during William's life, who himself at this time was being "pushed at" by the same sort of men and knew them well. But upon Queen Anne's accession he certainly would have been: Cornbury stood ready. The question was not to come up. Late in February, 1701, the gout attacked him severely. Notwithstanding, and

sets a fast was proclaimed throughout the province. His remains were interred with becoming honors in the chapel of the fort at the Battery. When the fort was taken down and the Battery leveled, in 1790, the leaden coffin was respectfully removed and deposited in St. Paul's churchyard.

We close this survey with a summary of his character. Its dominant trait, as we conceive it to be and as history bears out, was sufficiently expressed in an early letter of his to the lords of trade: "A hearty lover of English laws and that values no Englishman that is not so;" and he declares it to be his chief design "to



OLD STADT HUYS.

imprudently, he dictated letters and wrote one or two. Upon the 5th of March he died. Then, at least, by the grief it caused throughout the provinces, was seen how highly men whose self-interest and party prejudices were not concerned had appreciated his qualities. In Massachu-

setts a fast was proclaimed throughout the province. His remains were interred with becoming honors in the chapel of the fort at the Battery. When the fort was taken down and the Battery leveled, in 1790, the leaden coffin was respectfully removed and deposited in St. Paul's churchyard.

give the people here a just idea of English laws, that they bear the stamp of the highest authority of the King and nation of England, and ought to be respected as sacred." A loyal Englishman of the olden time, if ever there was one! That was the grain of the oak all the way through.

A thorough Protestant, he believed fully in "the late happy revolution," and to his official superiors, as representing it and the will of the nation, and, therefore, to their instructions, he was as faithful and submissive as a dog to his master. For the same reasons and as part of the law, he would not manage elections nor interfere with "the rights and liberties of the House of Representatives." He would not allow of illegal traffic. But, after listening to the Boston merchants, it did not at all prevent his representing to the lords (as he did) how the acts of trade and navigation might be altered so as to remove all reasonable dissatisfaction and promote the "mutual advantage" of England and the colonies. A law-abiding conservative, he was in his tendencies a liberal one, open to reason and justice. And to this must be joined his inflexible honesty and firmness. But for this he might have lived on terms with the New York merchants—had he been willing to shut his eyes or accept a bribe or let things go as they were. The simple trouble was that their greed and practices, and law and the earl's honesty, could not be made to run in harness together. Nor should we underestimate the courage and firmness it required in him to withstand their angry opposition. It was a small city. Some of these men had become for the time being colonial barons. Their wealth and estates and display, joined in some of them to official consequence, imposed upon people. Of course they had influence. They moved in a party, at a time when party spirit was rank, bitter, violent and unscrupulous; and

at such times men not personally open to charges of corruption are carried with the current to sustain persons and things they would otherwise not approve. It is the stronghold of wicked and designing men. It required a well-knit moral fiber and persistent courage to enable a man to do his duty in the face of all this. He was slandering "eminent and respectable persons," they said. Nevertheless, neither their wealth, nor acquired position nor names should influence history in its judgment of the case. The question before the earl, and now, was and is, the means by which they were obtaining this great wealth and ascendancy in the community.

In order of prominence must next be mentioned his wonderful energy—for his years truly such. Without the aid of a secretary, unless it may have been his estimable wife, and sometimes with a lame hand, what he wrote was immense: long letters, some of them covering many pages of the large printed collection of colonial documents to the lords of trade, lords justices, or the admiralty; letters to the different lieutenant-governors, and many others; and on how many different subjects: the state of the province, ex-Governor Fletcher, removals, land grants, acts of council and assembly, Indian affairs, fortifications, piracy and seizures, bedding and condition of the soldiers, accounts past and present, masts, tar, making salt and potash, and many other things! All these, matters personally investigated or considered by him, and then written about! And in the midst of what worries! At his age what constitu-

tion could long endure such a drain?

Amid such various labors; amid such hindrances thrown in his way; with so much information to be derived from sources reliable and sometimes unreliable; with even his attorney-general not to be depended on; with the necessity on his part of rapid thinking, rapid writing and acting: it would be wonderful if he never misjudged, made no mistakes. It is not to be supposed that he made none. Yet, in connection with his voluminous letter-writing, it is due to the subject to recur to one point at which we consider his real character misjudged. We refer to what has been called his intense hatred of ex-Governor Fletcher, his predecessor. The impression is derived from his own letters to the lords of trade, which are full of Fletcher's doings and misdoings. We have already alluded to his own words as a true description of him: "a hearty lover of English laws, and that valued no Englishman that was not so;" and also to his feelings concerning the king and the lords of trade. To their superior authority and wisdom he submitted everything; whilst he also, as he said repeatedly, considered it right and due that he should communicate everything that might assist their judgment. And he was a wonderful correspondent: a typical Englishman, with his grumbles and feelings all at your service, all uttered frankly, freely, and without reserve, from "beastly" to "nasty!" Without revising, correcting, or copying, except necessary duplicates, everything heard, said, or done went down in those dispatches to the lords of

trade, about individuals and things, even to the "stink of bear's grease" and the "little nasty sloop!" Momentary feelings and suspicions, which the next letter might correct—as once in Livingston's case—they were all there. So frank, so outspoken, so English was the man; we may even say, so did he gossip to the lords of trade! And it was not merely what he remembered; he had a little notebook of sayings and doings, in which everything went down. What Mr. Graham said at the earl's dinner-table about land grants, but took back the next morning, was there to face him and to go to the lords as an instance of his unreliability. He had to do this, for his employments were various, and he was among enemies. Nevertheless, in what was really important, as in all removals, he took depositions and evidence, as by his instructions required, and sent them for final judgment by the lords.

In relation to Colonel Fletcher, this is to be considered—that he "valued no Englishman" who did not hold and uphold the laws as "sacred"; that the opposition he had himself met with from the very beginning came from maladministration of the laws; that a man of his unbending integrity and immense energy could but attribute "such abuses," in the language of his instructions, to "the remissness or connivance" of the governor; and that so feeling, it could but awaken his indignation. As he proceeded, there was nothing to mitigate, much to increase, his belief that Fletcher was not only remiss, but corrupt; and all this went into his correspondence with the lords. His information, at

times, may not have been trustworthy or sufficient as proof; run to earth, individual stories may have collapsed; but the general scope of that administration lay patent around him, in those land grants and many other things. We do not, therefore, accept everything in his letters as deliberate utterance or literal truth; but we acquit him of unreasoning and unreasonable prejudice. He had no reason to spare Fletcher or his own honest indignation. Yet if sometimes his phrases sound harsh, turn to the other side. They cultivated no amenities in those days; Fletcher himself exercised none. When it suited his turn to say so, De la Noy and De Peyster were "rascals." And they pursued Lord Bellomont with persistent misrepresentations, not to say hatred, both at home and abroad. If he was sometimes unduly suspicious of men and frank to utter it—as once in particular of Schuyler—in those peculiar days in New York, how many of the men of station around him could he really trust? How many could William trust in England? Honesty was at a low ebb, and partisan morality a most uncertain and limited quantity. Only in spots might one bore for trustworthy integrity, with good assurance of finding it; it did not run through the town. One man the earl seems to have trusted implicitly, without being disappointed: it was Abraham De Peyster. We regard Lord Bellomont, then, as one of the

very best, one of the most unselfish and purest, of the English governors. Whatever his especial faults, they belonged to a frank and honest nature. If he completed nothing in his own day, he planted seeds which were to ripen in the future, and then at the call of death went his way. It was the fall of a noble English oak, torn suddenly and prematurely from its place.

During the administration just closed, incidents relating to the city proper were too few to require inter-



JACOB STEENDAM.¹

ruption of the main narrative; or, rather, that narrative was itself quite largely a picture of the city's interior life and morals. We now confine ourselves to matters therein till the coming of Lord Cornbury. It may at this point be said that physically the city was in good condition

¹ Jacob Steendam was a native of Holland, and came to this city in 1632, at the age of sixteen. He owned houses in Broadway and Pearl street. His principal poems are entitled, "Complaint of New Amsterdam, in New Netherland, to her Mother of her Beginning, Growth and Present Condition," and "The Praise of

New Netherland." They were translated and published at The Hague, with a memoir of the poet, in 1861, by Henry C. Murphy, and later were included in his anthology of New Netherland, issued by the Bradford Club of New York.

Within the limits were some seven hundred and fifty houses, besides plantations and buildings outside upon the island; and (by the census of 1703) four thousand five hundred white inhabitants and seven hundred and fifty slave and free blacks. The buildings, says Madam Knight,¹ who took a horseback ride from Boston, were mostly of brick, some of them glazed, of divers colors laid in cheques, and "looked very well;" inside, such as she saw "were neat to admiration;" and the ladies wore caps and "an abundance of ear-rings and other jewelry." For these many people two markets, one at the Bowling Green, the other at Hanover Square, supplied the meat; another, at Coenties Slip, the fish. Wells of water there were enough in the center of the streets; but being unpaved in the middle, in the absence of sewerage the streets, also, absorbed much that a board of health would not have called wholesome. Therefore it must be regarded as an important step in advance, not often noted, that in 1699 public scavengers were first appointed. It did not imply any immediate decline of the hog, nor, for many a long day, the absence of his portly and familiar figure from the streets. They served together as alderman and assistant alderman of the streets. When during that year, the Brooklyn ferry was relet to Mr. Philip French, it is most curious to observe that the same legal tariff continued—twopence each for a man and a hog, one penny for a sheep. Was it that (too common vice of the period) the men were usually "disguised with liquor" and

equally unmanageable; or had they already discovered what a leading physiologist affirms, that the "common hog (*sus scrofa*) is a creature especially suitable for comparison with man?" It is certain that, had the comparison been made with the soldiers of the garrison, the hog would have been found the better fed, better bedded, better treated and esteemed.

As of historical interest it is to be added that in 1699-1700 a new City Hall was built. The old "Stadt Huys" of 1642 was in such decay that courts and common council had already sought other quarters. Mr. Abraham De Peyster and Colonel Nicholas Bayard at this time owned nearly the whole north side of Wall street in alternate sections; and one of these, facing Broad street, De Peyster now gave to the city. Lord Belhomont allowed some material to be used from the old fort; and, in 1699, Mayor David Provoost, who had succeeded Johannes De Peyster and was the brother-in-law of both Abraham and Johannes, laid the corner-stone. It was finished in 1700, and there in due time Washington was inaugurated. Nor should another incident of 1699, one of excellent import to the city be passed by. It was the coming of Rev. Gualterus Du Bois as colleague with the now infirm Domine Selyns, who, indeed, died in 1701. Domine Selyns had been pastor of the Dutch church since 1682; as such painstaking, useful, and influential. The first charter given to a Dutch church was due to his efforts. As a Latinist and poet he had note beyond the province. As a poet,

¹ "Journal of a journey from Boston to New York, 1704," from the original MS. New York, 1824.

both in Latin and Dutch, and one of a most "nimble faculty," he exceeded both Steendam and Nicasius De Sille, the other (earlier) Dutch poets of the colony. But his course during the Leisler troubles, and those troubles themselves, produced alienations and divisions, which extended even to the calling of a colleague. Nevertheless, in 1699 Domine Du Bois began (in his twenty-eighth year) a ministry of usefulness and honor, conciliatory, prudent, and kind, which continued fifty-two years. The only other collegiate-church pastorate of such duration is the one of the Rev. Dr. Thomas E. Vermilye, the present senior pastor, who was installed in October, 1839, in his thirty-sixth year.

We now return to subjects which were speedily to engross the people. When the earl died (March 5, 1701), Lieutenant-Governor Nanfan was at the Barbados, nor did he arrive till May 19. Meantime the government devolved upon the council, of whom at the first only four were in town, viz.: Abraham De Peyster, Dr. Samuel Staats, Robert Walters, and Thomas Weaver. When Chief Justice Smith arrived, followed soon after by Robert Livingston and Peter Schuyler, an acrimonious squabble arose over the presidency. The chief justice, supported by Livingston and Schuyler, claimed it by right of seniority, whilst the majority said it should be decided by vote. Livingston is again back with his old party associates. The difficulty itself the chief justice attributes to the influence of Weaver. But under the wing of that dispute new party quarrels were being fledged. Each side distrusted

the other, and each side sent home its own report of matters to England. For the present the Leislerians had the ascendancy both in the council and (when it met) the assembly. The margin, however, was narrow, the situation one to evolve increasing heat and contention, without a head or hand of sufficient authority to quell or restrain rising passions. Even when Nanfan arrived, he was a young man, merely a captain at the fort, not entirely ignorant of his duties, since, during the earl's absence in Boston, he had acted as lieutenant-governor under his directions; but not of force enough for the emergency. With this explanation we may now advance to the arrival of Chief Justice Willam Atwood, on July 24, a very important and influential figure in what remains of this history. He was not an unknown man in England; on the contrary, a writer of learning on political subjects of the day, well read in the law, a stanch Whig and upholder of the rights of Parliament. His last publication was in 1704, and he seems to have died in England in 1705. As he was a rigid judge in admiralty, with Weaver as the collector, he was not popular, nor was Weaver,—perhaps no man could be. But as he took the place of Chief Justice Smith and acted with the Leislerians, and as neither Smith nor Livingston nor Schuyler appear again at present, it made the council a unit in all subsequent proceedings, with Atwood and Weaver evidently the leading personages.

In October occurred the annual election for mayor and aldermen. It was a most remarkable one even for New-York. The common council of

that period consisted of the mayor, recorder (Mr. Gouverneur), six aldermen, and six assistant-aldermen. Mr. Noell, anti-Leislerian, was appointed mayor without dispute; but for aldermen and assistants, every alderman returned the candidate of his own side as elected. Three wards were not disputed and three were; the latter being Leislerian and the candidates for aldermen Johannes De Peyster, David Provoost, and Nicholas Roosevelt. At the usual time for the

meeting was at a standstill. In this dilemma the mayor himself appointed a committee of four in each of the Leislerian wards to canvass the vote; but as the two Leislerians in each refused to serve, the other two reversed the vote to their own side. Those reported by them were sworn in, whereupon both parties seated themselves upon the official benches, making twenty in all; and, to prevent imminent trouble, the mayor adjourned the meeting for a fortnight. It was late in December before the council could organize, and then only through a decision of the chief justice in the Supreme Court, which left the parties evenly divided.

Scarcely had the flame and heat of this conflagration subsided when another began, this time involving the court itself. It was the trial, conviction, and sentence of Colonel Nicholas Bayard (with Alderman John Hutchins, of less account) for high treason—the culminating scene of these years of party strife. The occasion of it may be thus briefly stated. Early in June, 1701, King William had appointed Lord Cornbury, a cousin of Queen Anne, to be

governor. His arrival was delayed till May 3, 1702, but his appointment was known. It gave fresh impulse and hope to the anti-Leislerians, as the city election had just shown. It was thought by them a good time to send petitions or addresses to the king, Parliament, and my Lord Cornbury—addresses of the old partisan sort which in an ordinary political contest might simply have been met by

AUTOGRAPH LETTER OF LIEUT.-GOVERNOR NANFAN.

meeting of the new council, the contest began. The Leislerians had themselves previously sworn in by Mr. De Riemer, the retiring mayor; the others were sworn in by the new mayor. As the mayor refused to sit with the Leislerians returned elected by the aldermen but not sworn in by himself, and as there could be no legal scrutiny of the vote except by order of the council, the city govern-

*Give me on and I will find you high
minutes of Council I yet want that any
way which is now as also the two papers
start. I left you into the Council of
good report of and good not report of
and what good do. to the other. The former
you dispatched those affairs the more you'll do
as any. This work to me understand
that have the money and what self soon
related to my self. I am
I give the two papers
to Capt. Nanfan of
John*

*Your friend to serve you
John Nanfan*

others. But this was not an ordinary contest. Moreover, it was two hundred years ago. Certain sentences in the addresses seemed hooks strong enough on which to hang an indictment of Bayard, as being "scandalous libels" against the government past and present, and adapted to make it "vile and cheap;" and particularly since among the numerous signatures were the names of about thirty soldiers of the garrison, who had been "drawn in" with many others to sign these papers. It was, in a word, inciting to a seditious spirit, and in this way disturbing the peace and quiet of his Majesty's government. Now it so happened that in 1691, after Leisler's execution for high treason, Bayard had himself procured to be passed by the assembly (and approved by the king) an act which said that "whatsoever person or persons shall by any manner of way or upon any pretense whatever endeavor by force of arms or other ways to disturb the peace, good and quiet of their Majesties' government as now established shall be deemed and esteemed as rebels and traitors unto their Majesties and incur the pains, penalties and forfeitures as the laws of England have for such offenses made and provided." Those "pains and penalties" were as yet barbarous, cruel in the extreme; but the law was of Bayard's own procurement—a man now in danger, as it seemed, of being guillotined with his own invention. We have his son Samuel's declaration that Atwood and Weaver "drew in the rest" of the council to his prosecution under this act, but for which, he says, "we had not been in this condition." Strange! These were Eng-

lishmen, Atwood only six months in the colony and its chief justice. Of Weaver we only know that he had come over with the earl, had been intrusted with some law cases, had been sent to England as government agent, and had stayed there three years, much to the earl's dissatisfaction. He had only returned to replace Van Cortlandt as collector, and had been in the council a year. These men, at least, had no such terrible reason for hating and pursuing Bayard in this way as had, for instance, Walters and Dr. Staats. What was their motive? Proceedings were not pushed unduly. It was January 21, 1702, when Attorney-General Broughton (who had come over with Atwood) was asked for his opinion on the case. He was not in sympathy with Atwood and Weaver and his opinion was that no crime had been committed. It was February 19 before the court sat—a special Court of Oyer and Terminer, with Chief Justice Atwood presiding, and De Peyster and Walters lay judges. Meantime Bayard was in jail, and Lord Cornbury on the sea—he might arrive any day.

It is now to be said of this celebrated trial, that, as Mr. Broughton refused to appear, Mr. Weaver was appointed solicitor-general for the government; that the judge refused to have notes taken except by the solicitor and counsel; and that we have no official account of it, nothing but a collection of "memorials taken by divers persons" (Bayard's friends) "privately." It is simply their memory assisted by notes, compared and collected, and printed by order of Lord Cornbury at the petition of Bayard! The account in Howell's

"State Trials" is merely a repetition of this paper as put forth by Bayard—like so many of the papers of the time, not an account to be relied upon as doing justice to both sides. Bayard certainly had an object of importance to himself in publishing it. It is not a layman's place to review either the law or the evidence. It may be said, however, that Mr. Emott and Mr. Nicolls, for the defense, conducted it with evident ability and legal knowledge; whilst the chief justice especially, whether right or wrong in his rulings and procedure, showed himself very ready in the law. De Peyster and Walters, as lay judges, took no part except to agree with the chief justice. It is on record that neither Atwood nor Weaver made a successful defense when they reached England; and the testimony as given, seems of the flimsiest kind. How flimsy the evidence sometimes taken in that day, and what liberties were taken by judges, is known. But the trial was not hurried; it was long; the jury were out for many hours, and more than once asked instructions of the judge: and it was not till March 9, at 3 P. M., that they returned a verdict of guilty.

A week's interval, and Bayard asks for a reprieve till the king's judgment can be obtained. This transferred it to the lieutenant-governor and council. It recalls how, ten years before, two prisoners, under similar circumstances, had made the same request; that the governor (Sloughter) had granted it; but that the council, and Bayard among them, had voted their immediate execution; that at Bayard's house was the governor induced to sign the death-warrant; and that

within two days thereafter they had been executed, under the same barbarous and abhorrent law of England. It was the origin of the Leislerian party. For all that, Bayard had never expressed a regret; he had even secured additional colonial legislation to increase the power of the acting government in such cases. That the gun thus aimed at others might recoil upon himself he evidently never dreamed; and assuredly he never meant to expose himself to the penalties of high treason. He was not the man to put his neck within the reach of that noose. Now, however, it is his own turn to ask reprieve—the irony of fate upon a vindictive man. At this point the lieutenant-governor, Nanfan, first comes prominently into view. He sends word to Bayard that he should have no reprieve unless he made voluntary confession of his offense and begged pardon. It was March 17, and Cornbury certainly on his passage; a ship had already arrived which he was to follow in a week. What was the real object of the council? We can only form an opinion from Bayard's own publication of events. From the sheriff he learns that De Peyster and Walters had refused consent to his sentence until the lieutenant-governor had promised to grant a reprieve if due application was made for it; he now regards it as meaning that he should falsely accuse himself. On March 19 he sent a second petition; but the lieutenant-governor was not satisfied, and had the clerk of the council draw up a proper one. This he copied (as he says), but it was again rejected. March 20, Atwood sends him word that unless his petition was a confes-

sion, he should have no reprieve; and the same day the sheriff told him that Weaver had told Atwood that the people were hot for his execution. Then the sheriff tried to persuade him to yield, but he refused. March 24, he again had word from the lieutenant-governor, through his son, that, unless he confessed, execution should soon be done; and on the 25th the sheriff again tells him that the lieutenant-governor was being "feasted" night and day, and it was feared that through his intemperance he would be prevailed upon to sign the death-warrant. On the 26th his son waited on the lieutenant-governor, and was told that, unless he confessed, the warrant would be signed the next day. During that day he sent for Domine Du Bois to ask his counsel whether it was safe to sign a confession under such circumstances, and was told, no. But it is pleasant to find Domine Du Bois now doing as Mr. Daillè did for Leisler, but as Domine Selyns and Mr. Pieret did not then do—he went to the governor, and at his request, so he was told, the signing was put off another two days. On the 28th the Domine told him that several of the council, probably De Peyster, Staats, and Walters, who were his people, had assured him that if, even in general terms, he would confess his offense, he should be reprieved; but to this Bayard said it was all trick and fraud to expose and ruin him, yet to save his life, if possible, he would draw another and comply with what the council told him, so far as he safely could. He then inserted a clause in his petition, which Domine Du Bois presented; but the next day he returned with the news that it had

been rejected as a reflection upon his sentence. A fifth petition of the next day (March 29) was unsatisfactory; but at the request of Domine Du Bois and Mr. Pieret, the signing of the warrant was again deferred another two days. Mr. Vesey had been very vehement during the trial; had, therefore, taken a vacation in New Jersey, and was not with the other ministers. At this time, however, as Bayard was informed, his execution had been fixed for Easter Monday. Therefore,



D. Du Bois

March 30, by Mr. Emott's advice, he added another paragraph to his petition. With this the lieutenant-governor was at first satisfied, but Mr. Atwood intervened, and it was sent back; and then, "in consternation and confusion of mind," as he says, "with much regret and many protestations," "in hopes to save his life from the hands he was in," he altered his petition into a confession, whereupon he was reprieved, and his confession immediately printed and published. The struggle had continued a fort-

night. Would they have proceeded to extremities had he not confessed? Would they have allowed revenge and retaliation such scope? We cannot say. It was two hundred years ago. Human life was held at a minimum; forgiveness and even clemency were virtues scarcely in vogue; even the courts knew nothing of the old Roman maxim, in doubtful cases prefer the milder (*benigniora*). Owing to Bayard's instrumentality in Leisler's death, and to later exasperations, half the community would have thought his death a righteous retribution. The chief justice, on his part, was apparently the very man to sustain his sentence to the end as just and right in law. Weaver was with him; and to a less degree, yet under their influence, Nanfan. Thus far De Peyster had been moderate in his partizanship. It is true that, before his sentence, Bayard had written him a letter accusing him and his family of seeking his blood. But there is no evidence that De Peyster, or Staats,

or Walters, was virulent against him to that extreme. Perhaps they knew the man; once before, in Leisler's time, he had weakened and confessed his error after only two days' imprisonment. It is certain that Atwood and Weaver were the ones whom Cornbury pursued as chiefly responsible, that he imprisoned Nanfan for eighteen months, but only removed the others from the council. Surely it was too hazardous a game to urge to that result, too dangerous a weapon to place in the hands of their enemies, and with Cornbury coming! We can only close by saying that during their brief enjoyment of power, neither had the Leislerians shown themselves, as a party, capable of exercising it for the good of the community. The passions of both sides were too hot, their feud as yet too bitter. They needed discipline of a new and effective kind; and for that we must leave them to Lord Cornbury—yes, we may safely leave them to my Lord Cornbury!



FRANKLIN AND WEDDERBURN.

IN the year 1773 Benjamin Franklin was in England as the agent of Pennsylvania, Massachusetts, New Jersey, and Georgia. The hot controversy that had been going on for several years between the mother country and her American colonies was approaching a crisis, and the spirits of the parties in interest were at extremes. In Massachusetts the feeling that grew out of the Boston massacre and the constant presence of hostile troops was most intense; so that the British ministers finally took steps which made the royal governor and the judges of that colony independent of the people, by transferring the payment of their salaries from the assembly to the crown. Thomas Hutchinson, the governor of Massachusetts at this time, had never been popular with the people because of his extreme royalist views. While the public feeling was in this state of intensity he and the lieutenant-governor, Oliver, wrote letters to Thomas Whately, secretary to Mr. George Grenville, in England, in which they vituperated the people of Massachusetts, and recommended more severe measures to be taken. These letters were private, yet as they bore upon public affairs they were deposited among the archives in London. By some means they were discovered and abstracted by Dr. Hugh Williamson, and by him placed in the hands of Dr. Franklin. Franklin thought it his duty as agent of the colony to send the letters back to Massachusetts, with strict injunc-

tions, however, that they should not be printed or copied. The contents of the letters soon became known to the colonial assembly, and they compelled the person in whose hands they were to produce them, and they were printed and circulated as widely as possible. They caused great excitement and indignation among the people. The assembly unanimously resolved "That the tendency and design of the said letters was to overthrow the constitution of this government, and to introduce arbitrary power into the province." They also resolved "that a petition should be immediately sent to the King to remove the governor, Hutchinson, and the lieutenant-governor, Oliver, forever from the government of the province." This petition was transmitted by Franklin to Lord Dartmouth, the colonial secretary, in January, 1774.

The publication of this correspondence caused a high state of feeling in England, and it became a burning question as to who had given the letters in question to Dr. Franklin. Thomas Whately, to whom they had been originally addressed, had died in the mean time, and a bitter controversy sprang up between Mr. John Temple and a brother of Thomas Whately, both of whom were connected with the colonial office, in regard to the matter. The controversy finally resulted in a duel, in which Mr. Whately was dangerously wounded. Franklin now felt called upon to declare his part in making the letters

known, and relieving both of the late combatants of any imputation. He did not, however, say by whose means he had obtained the letters, and it was not until nearly fifty years afterwards that the agency of Dr. Williamson in the matter became generally known. Franklin defended his conduct mainly upon the ground that the letters could not be regarded as private communications between friends, and that public expediency justified the course he had taken.¹

On the 29th of January, 1774, Dr. Franklin appeared before the Lords in Council in behalf of the petition of Massachusetts. The cause of Hutchinson and Oliver was supported by Alexander Wedderburn, the solicitor-general. Wedderburn was a Scotchman, born in East Lothian in 1733. After a brief but somewhat noticeable career in Edinburgh he was called to the English bar at the Inner Temple in 1757. In January, 1771, he was appointed solicitor-general. "At the bar," says one of his biographers, "Wedderburn was the most elegant speaker of his time, but in legal erudition he was excelled by many of his contemporaries. For cool and sustained declamation he stood unrivalled in parliament, and his readiness in debate was universally acknowledged. In his character ambition banished all rectitude of principle, but the love of money for money's sake was not among his faults." That is the best side of Wedderburn's character. On the present occasion he very deftly turned the issue, charged Franklin with having obtained the Whately letters by discred-

itable means, and put him on the defensive. "The letters," said he, "could not have come to Dr. Franklin by fair means. The writers did not give them to him, nor yet did the deceased correspondent. Nothing, then, will acquit Dr. Franklin of the charge of obtaining them by fraudulent or corrupt means, for the most malignant of purposes; unless he stole them from the person that stole them. This argument is irrefragable. I hope, my Lords, you will mark and brand the man, for the honor of this country, of Europe, and of mankind. Private correspondence has hitherto been held sacred in times of the greatest party rage, not only in politics, but religion. He has forfeited all the respect of societies and of men. Into what companies will he hereafter go with an unembarrassed face, or the honest intrepidity of virtue? Men will watch him with a jealous eye—they will hide their papers from him, and lock up their escritoires. He will henceforth esteem it a libel to be called a man of letters—*homo trium literarum*.² But he not only took away the letters from one brother, but kept himself concealed till he nearly occasioned the murder of the other. It is impossible to read his account, expressive of the coolest and most deliberate malice, without horror. Amidst these tragical events, of one person nearly murdered, of another answerable for the issue, of a worthy governor hurt in his dearest interests, the fate of America in suspense—here is a man who, with the utmost insensibility of remorse, stands up and avows him-

¹ The History of England. By the Rev. T. S. Hughes, B. D. London: 1836. Vol. III., p. 96.

² The three letters were *fur*, the Latin word for "thief."

self the author of all." The result of Wedderburn's furious invective was that the petition of the Massachusetts assembly was thrown out as scandalous and vexatious, and Franklin was dismissed from his office of postmaster-general of the colonies. During the whole course of the tirade that was poured upon him, Franklin stood calm and apparently imperturbed, but a deep feeling of resentment was working in his heart. As he left the place he told his friend, Dr. Priestley, the distinguished philosopher and divine, who had stood by him during this trying ordeal, that he would not again put on the clothes he then wore,—a handsome suit of Manchester velvet—until he could have satisfaction for the humiliation and abuse he had endured. It is said that he dressed himself in this well-saved suit when, in the year 1783, as one of the commissioners of the United States, he signed the definitive treaty of peace at Paris, by which the United States were forever separated from the crown of Great Britain. Wedderburn, in 1778, became attorney-general; in 1780, chief-justice of the court of common pleas, with the title of Baron Loughborough, and in 1801, he was created Earl of Rosslyn and was awarded a pension of £4000 per annum. But he is best remembered by Americans as the ruffian that vilified Dr. Franklin. Wedderburn died January 2, 1805.

After all, however, Wedderburn very largely voiced only the sentiments of the nation. The feeling towards the Americans was bitter in the extreme. Franklin says that dur-

ing the progress of Wedderburn's speech, many of the lords of the council laughed heartily, and some applauded the speaker. It is amusing to read the characterization of Franklin, by the celebrated Mrs. Piozzi: "Benjamin Franklin, who," she says, "by bringing a spark from Heaven, fulfilled the prophecies he pretended to disbelieve; who wrote a profane addition to the Book of Genesis; who hissed on the colonies against their parent country; who taught men to despise their sovereign and insult their Redeemer; who did all the mischief in his power while living, and at last died, I think, in America, was, beside all the rest, a plagiarist, as it appears, and the curious epitaph made on himself, and as we long believed, by himself, was, I am informed, borrowed without acknowledgment from one upon Jacob Tonson, to whom it was more appropriate." But one can at least partially forgive the asperity of the lively little lady of Streatham, as to her we are indebted for the two stanzas she has recorded of a poem written by a Mr. Dale upon Franklin's invention of a lamp, in which the flame was forced downward, burning in a new method, contrary to nature:

But to covet political fame
Was in him a degrading ambition;
'Twas a spark that from Lucifer came,
And first kindled the blaze of sedition.

May not Candor then write on his urn,
"Here, alas! lies a noted inventor
Whose flame up to Heaven ought to burn,
But inverted, descends to the center."¹

To our mind it is a redeeming fact in the life of Wedderburn that he was a friend of Dr. Johnson, and to him

trusts to her memory and does not claim the lines are verbatim. Are they to be found elsewhere?

¹ "Autobiography, Letters, etc., of Mrs. Piozzi," Boston, Ticknor & Fields, 1861. Page 240. Mrs. Piozzi

in large degree belongs the honor of first moving to obtain a pension for the great lexicographer. "Lord Bute told me," says Boswell, "that Mr. Wedderburn, now Lord Loughborough was the person who first mentioned this subject to him. Lord Loughborough told me," he con-

tinues, "that the pension was granted to Johnson solely as the reward of his literary merit, without any stipulation whatever, or even tacit understanding that he should write for the administration." Wedderburn continued to be the friend of Johnson to the close of Johnson's life.

T. J. CHAPMAN.



WHAT WAS THE REAL DISCOVERY OF AMERICA?¹

WAS the event we celebrated on the 12th—or, to be dreadfully accurate, on the 21st—of last month, the *real* discovery of America? Was it such consciously to the great man who accomplished that wonderful deed on this now unfortunately dual date? Was it such in the opinion of the world of civilized European society, when the achievement of Columbus was first announced to it? A negative answer belongs to all these queries. In fact, neither Columbus nor the world that he astonished were within ten or fifteen thousand miles of the truth of the case; they thought they were dealing with Asia. And in theory their distance from the truth was still greater, if possible: for such a thing as Columbus had hit upon had not in the remotest sense entered into their geographical conceptions or speculations. It was only by the progress of the years and the slow accumulation of fact after fact of exploration, each more bewildering than the other on the theory upon which Columbus had worked, and on which his age based their conceptions—that the tremendously startling conviction as to what America really was, grew to clearness and finality. It is the interesting and instructive object of the volumes before us to bring out this feature regarding the “Discovery of America.”

At once the suspicion will be awakened that here is another attack on Columbus, a deliberate attempt to

rob him of his hard-earned and well-deserved glory, lately made fashionable by Mr. Winsor, and meeting the approval of New England scholarship. Mr. Fiske is a New Englander—on this score, at least—of another stripe. Yet it would seem that some have apprehended otherwise. His reviewer, in that periodical which we had supposed really did review books, *The Critic*—a task which the daily press have simply given up for the easier processes of “booming” or “damning” as the fancy strikes them—says this of Mr. Fiske’s work: “Columbus not merely takes a back seat quite near the door, but his whole personality seems little more than a cell, as it were, in the ultimate growth and result. . . . Furthermore he is viewed through the small end of the telescope, and left as a rather disreputable and insignificant character.” Without allowing our indignation at the perversion of the facts to lead us to say anything more severe, we have only to remark that a person who can write thus about Mr. Fiske’s book, simply *has not read it*. What remains of the honesty or genuineness of a critique which can make a flourish of doing its duty, we leave to every fair mind to judge for itself. On the plan of the present day, it would seem, a critic comes to a book with all his specialties and crotchets “thick upon him.” Whatever in the summaries of the chapters or the casually leafed-over pages, hits these nobs upon the reviewer’s crani-

¹ “The Discovery of America,” by John Fiske. 2 vols., Houghton, Mifflin & Co., Boston and New York, 1892.

um, gets a share of attention, and is condemned or approved as it suits the man's preconceived notions about these infinitesimal points. The rest of the book is guessed at, or its scope wrongly gathered from the few catch-phrases of the table of contents. But the real, earnest, painstaking reading of a book *through*, weighing each part by the meaning or scope of the whole and then judging of its worth by the value of its new opinions, where they differ from our own or from generally accepted views—where, yes, where is that to-day? We have no time for that, forsooth. Then we have no time for real criticism, and there is none such anywhere.

Was, then, the finding of land on October 12, 1492—we love that old date no matter how astronomically correct our President's proclamation may be—the discovery of America? Certainly, and by all means! And all honor, the highest praise, to Columbus for finding that bit of land on the other side of the Sea of Darkness! It was genius, science, courage, perseverance, seamanship—ever so many fine and worthy qualities, which made him unearth or “unsea”—that little island and all the other and bigger ones in the neighborhood! As Mr. Fiske labors to show, this work of Columbus is without parallel in the history of the world; he allows that Magellan's achievement in crossing the Pacific was the nearest like it. But essentially nothing can equal or surpass the undertaking of Columbus in 1492, until someone shall on a scientific basis and with supreme courage lead an expedition out into space to some neighboring planet. As Mr. Fiske shows, the first voyage of Co-

lumbus to him and to his age was quite as difficult, as dangerous, and as apparently impossible as such a moon or Mars-seeking journey would be to-day. It required a great mind to not only conceive but also to ground itself so confidently upon the reasonableness of the conception as to be willing to carry out the project. It required a great heart to dare set forth upon the unknown. As Mr. Fiske diligently places this view of the situation and of the man before his readers, we fail to “see” the small end of the telescope directed towards Columbus; nor does he leave the impression upon our minds that the discoverer was “rather disreputable and insignificant.” In his preface he takes decided exception to Mr. Winsor's view of Columbus; but in spite of this the *Critic's* critic has sadly mixed up the two books. Well, each writer was (and is), in his time, librarian of Harvard, and this, no doubt, has inseparably identified their recent literary productions in the mind of our discriminating reviewer. It is the part of charity to find an excuse for a neighbor's faults.

So far is Mr. Fiske from denying the merit of the discovery of America to Columbus, that he is careful to present an exhaustive study of the visits to our Continent previous to 1492, in order to remove from these incidents what has often been unfairly attached to them: a sinister insinuation that on the ground of a knowledge of them, possessed but unacknowledged by Columbus, his great work was undertaken. Dim and nebulous as are the accounts of pre-Columbian voyages to American shores on the part of Norsemen, Welshmen,

or the Zeno brothers, there seems to be no doubt, after a fair and unprejudiced weighing of the testimony, that such voyages took place. As Mr. Fiske points out, the descriptions of men and things are clearly applicable to America; and just for the reason that some of the conditions and circumstances on these shores were so different from those in Europe, we may be assured that they must have been actually seen. They could not have been invented.

Now, then, it having been established that Europeans visited the shores of North America before Columbus, what have we gained or lost as regards the merit of Columbus' first voyage? It has been usually imagined that there was no gain at all, and very much loss, indeed. Why then, is Mr. Fiske so diligent in substantiating these dim hints in Icelandic sagas, or Welsh chronicles, or the Zeno letters? To show how very foolish have been the attacks on Columbus based on these undoubted facts. He is careful to show us that Scandinavian scholars in the seventeenth or eighteenth century, when the geography of America was fully known, and when the doubtful meanings of the Norse sagas first began to dawn on their minds after lifelong and painstaking study—only then pretended to have found out what a fraud Columbus was in claiming to be the discoverer of America. But they forgot several items of importance, such as, that Columbus made no such claim; that he had no idea what America was; that if he were ever in Iceland it was hardly likely he made a study of the sagas, or that he would have succeeded in making them

out in advance of Scandinavian scholarship of a century or two later. But, unhappily, others beside Scandinavian professors have taken a delight in diminishing Columbus' glory. Diligent search was made into the uncertain records of Columbus' career, in order to discover whether Columbus was not at some time in Iceland, and found out all about America there. There seems to be some reason to believe Columbus was in Iceland on one of his multitudinous voyages. This was a triumphant fact for the traducers. Next, there were the triumphant facts of these earlier voyages already spoken of. The admirers of Columbus therefore trembled for his fame, and naturally sought to disprove these damaging facts. But since they were facts it was no use trying to upset them, and the traducers being still triumphant as to these, seemed to have it all their own way. Is not Mr. Fiske, therefore, their abettor in making this Iceland business so clear? We think he has very decidedly given the death-blow to the argument against Columbus based thereon. He shows, in the first place, even if Columbus did visit Iceland, how unlikely it was that the stories hidden in recondite poems, formed part of people's everyday conversation there. He shows next that even if Columbus had understood all about Vinland, or Greenland, or Drogio, how unlikely it was that he should have connected these shores in the remotest degree with the American Continent, of the existence of which he never had the remotest conception; and that it was impossible that he should have connected these barbarous regions with

the rich empires of Cachay and Zibangu. And he conclusively points out finally, that these Icelandic traditions never meant anything to Columbus, even if he had heard or read of them, because he did not use the information they are supposed to have conveyed to him in his efforts to induce kings and nobles of various courts to support his proposed enterprise. "It would have given him," says our author, "the kind of inductive argument which he sorely needed."

. . . . What a godsend it would have been for Columbus if he could have had the Vinland business to hurl at the head of his adversaries. . . . In persuading men to furnish hard cash for his commercial enterprise, as Colonel Higginson so neatly says: 'an ounce of Vinland would have been worth a pound of cosmography.' We may be sure that the silence of Columbus about the Norse voyages proves that he knew nothing about them or quite failed to see their bearings upon his own undertaking. It seems to me absolutely decisive." It seems the same to us. This effectually disposes of the Vinland or Iceland argument, so convenient a handle for Winsor and his ilk. In spite of such pre-Columbian voyages, this sensible view of the matter leaves the merit of the discovery of America clearly and indisputably to Columbus. "It is in the highest degree probable," we must, indeed, conclude with Mr. Fiske, "that Leif Ericsson and his friends made a few voyages to what we now know to have been the coast of America; but it is an abuse of language to say that they 'discovered' America. In no sense was any real contact established between the east-

ern and the western halves of our planet until the great voyage of Columbus in 1492." This, certainly, does not look like putting Columbus into "a back seat, quite near the door."

But now we come back to the question: was the achievement of Columbus the *real* discovery of America, in the sense of its full discovery, so that he or the world of his day knew what had been done? Here we must answer no, but such answer involves no disparagement of Columbus, while it opens up an exceedingly interesting and suggestive topic for study, geographical largely, but having so intimate a bearing upon the correct historical perspective wherein we must view the development of the discovery of our continent, that it may be properly commended to historical students—amateur or professional. "Our practice of affixing specific dates," Mr. Fiske well remarks, "to great events is, on many accounts, indispensable, but it is sometimes misleading. Such an event as the discovery of a pair of vast continents does not take place within a single year. When we speak of America as discovered in 1492, we do not mean that the moment Columbus landed on two or three islands of the West Indies, a full outline map of the western hemisphere, from Labrador and Alaska to Cape Horn, suddenly sprang into existence—like Pallas from the forehead of Zeus—in the minds of European men. Yet people are perpetually using arguments which have neither force nor meaning save upon the tacit assumption that somehow or other some such sort of thing must have hap-

pened. . . . In geographical discussions the tendency to overlook the fact that Columbus and his immediate successors did not sail with the latest edition of Black's General Atlas in their cabins, is almost inveterate; it keeps revealing itself in all sorts of queer statements, and probably there is no cure for it except in familiarity with the long series of perplexing and struggling maps made in the sixteenth century."

If we bring our minds right down to the fact of the matter, we all appreciate correctly enough that Columbus and his age had no conception whatever of that vast barrier in mid-ocean lying between the west of Europe and the east of Asia. We know very well that at about the spot where the great discoverer expected to find land, he at the same time expected to find Asia. Let us make, therefore a little effort to keep this condition of not *ignorance* exactly, but *unconsciousness*, clearly and consistently before us, and then proceed, guided by Mr. Fiske, to watch the gradual removal—step by step, year by year, or generation by generation, of this *unconsciousness*; until at last upon the maps of cosmographers, and in the minds of men generally, the enormous puzzle was resolved, and America, north and South, so to speak, arose out of the awful deep, with three thousand miles of water on one side, and over ten thousand on the other, and Asia far away across the larger sea. We confess we have found few things more fascinating than to follow this "work of two centuries" in Mr. Fiske's pages.

In the unfolding of this new great fact we inevitably come, after Colum-

bus, upon the name of Americus Vespu-
cius. Our author devotes no less than one hundred and fifty of his pages to this noted mariner, and in view of the astonishing injustice which has been done this man, we can hardly call this a waste of space or of time. Innocent as a babe un-
born of the perpetration of that con-
spicuous outrage, the bestowal of *his* name instead of that of Columbus upon our hemisphere; the supposed turpitude which could make him claim (as was believed) the title to bestow it, has led historians and critics to find all manner of other sins in Vespu-
cius. The way to remove this load of obloquy was, therefore, to exhibit how guiltless he was of naming America after himself. Mr. Fiske with much acuteness and careful penetration into a number of curious errors, succeeds in convincing us of this. We cannot follow him into all the details; but it is quite within our scope to trace the origin and application of the name America.

Americus Vespu-
cius was with the fleet of Ojeda, which surreptitiously followed up Columbus' account of the Pearl Coast—an expedition organized at the instance of the admiral's inveterate enemy and persecutor, Bishop Fonseca. But Vespu-
cius was merely an astronomer or pilot on one of the ships, and in no sense responsible for the voyage. At another time he was with an expedition which sailed along the coast of Brazil, as far as the River La Plata, where a change in direction was made, and keeping still to the south, but eastward instead of westward, the voyagers in these strange regions struck the island of South Georgia and found ice in the

far, far south. Now, all this was quite, beyond what anybody was looking for in those days. It was a wonderful thing that Columbus reached land by sailing westward. But the wonder lay in the sailing, not in the land. When the journey was accomplished he and everyone made up their minds that Asia had been reached, and there was nothing strange in that. Strabo, and Pliny, and Ptolemy, and Plato, with their scientific speculations or poetic dreams, had prepared men to find something of that sort, sooner or later. But in the direction whither Vespuclius had now sailed, nothing of that which he had found was supposed to be; and besides, the people and conditions upon the territories visited were all unprovided for in even the vagaries of philosophers. On his return to Lisbon he wrote a letter to Lorenzo de Medici, patron of science as of art, and in this letter he employs for the first time, the term NEW WORLD; and well he might. "A coast of continental extent, beginning so near the meridian of the Cape Verde islands, and running southwesterly to latitude 35 degrees S, and perhaps beyond, did not fit into anybody's scheme of things. None of the ancient geographers had alluded to such a coast, unless it might be supposed to be connected with the Trapobene end of Mela's Antichthones, or with Ptolemy's Terra Incognita, far to the east and southeast of Cattigara. In any case, it was land unknown to the ancients, and Vespuclius was right in saying that he had beheld there things by the thousands which Pliny had never mentioned. It was not strange that he should call it a NEW WORLD." Yet

this is one of the counts in the general indictment against him. It is supposed that by the use of this phrase he puts forth a claim to having discovered that New World, as we now understand it. The modest writer of this epistle did not for a moment travel in thought beyond the actual regions just looked upon in all their strangeness by him. He had no thought of applying the phrase to the islands discovered by Columbus; for neither he nor Columbus had the remotest idea that these formed part of any new world at all.

We now have the name New World; next we advance to that unhappy (for him) use of Vespuclius' first name, in the designation AMERICA. Away up in Lorraine there was a coterie of learned men, at a college located in the little town of Saint Dié, among the Vosges mountains. The Duke of Lorraine was a patron of letters and science, and under his auspices an edition of the geography of Ptolemy was about to be published there. Just then a French version of a Latin translation of a letter of Vespuclius to an Italian schoolmate, called Soderini, came to the notice of the duke. It, of course, told of the wonders which had justified Vespuclius in speaking of a new world to Lorenzo de Medici. Such an account was a priceless "latest thing," which it would never do to omit from the forthcoming publication by his pet college. "It was forthwith turned into Latin by the worthy Canon Jean Basin de Sendacour, who improved the situation by addressing his version to his enlightened sovereign Réné, instead of Soderini, thus bewildering the minds of posterity for

ever so long by making Vespuclius appear to address the Duke of Lorraine as his old schoolmate." It is to be observed that just such confusion has contributed to place Vespuclius in the baneful light he occupies to some minds. And surely should any other misapprehensions have arisen out of this letter as printed at Saint Dié, why blame Vespuclius for it, when we recall that this was a Latin version of a French version of a former Latin version of the original Italian.

But now comes the climax. The chief editor of this Saint-Dié geography of Ptolemy, was a German scholar of the name of Waldseemüller. In his comment on the Vespuclius letter he remarks in Latin that Europe, Asia and Africa, having been more fully explored by recent voyages, now "another fourth part has been discovered by Americus Vespuclius [as will appear in what follows, *i. e.*, the Vespuclius letter]: *Wherefore, I do not see what is rightly to hinder us from calling it AMERIGE or AMERICA, *i. e.*, the land of Americus, after its discoverer Americus—a man of sagacious mind, since both Europe and Asia have got their names from women."*

Let us keep our heads steady, now of all times; let us unshackle ourselves deliberately from "the bondage of the modern map," or we will beswept along with the tide of fault-finding or condemnation of poor Vespuclius. In the first place, we are to note that Herr Waldseemüller, and not the Italian, was responsible for the association of names. In the second place, when the German professor speaks of Asia being now better known, he means that Columbus has

been one of those who has added to Asiatic geography, for not as yet were the West Indies dissociated from that great continent. The "other fourth part," therefore, refers solely to the coasts actually and honestly discovered or explored by Vespuclius. In other words NEW WORLD and AMERICA were, indeed, synonymous then, as now, but were applied then only to Brazil, not even to the whole of South America, much less to North and South America, of whose existence men in Europe *had no notion at all* when Waldseemüller wrote.

We have dwelt somewhat at length upon these minute details of nomenclature, and the misunderstandings about Vespuclius, because of their importance in leading us to see exactly what the terms NEW WORLD and AMERICA first meant. Now, let us trace the expansion of that meaning till it embraced what they convey to us at present. We have got as far as the discovery of the *name*; it is next in order to follow the discovery of the real America. When Vespuclius wrote his letter and Waldseemüller commented on it, the fact that there was a continent in the far southwestern ocean was pretty well understood, but the maps could only show the northern and eastern coast lines as far as the La Plata River. In 1513, Balboa looked upon the Bay of Panama, and there arose shrewd suspicions, but there was as yet no certainty, of an ocean on the other side of that mysterious continent. The fact of an ocean, and a broader one than the Atlantic, was established by the voyage of Magellan in 1520, through the straits named after him, and across eleven thousand miles of water—a

voyage which for stupendous pluck and sublimity of achievement must be ranked next to that of Columbus itself. But even yet the geography of America remained sadly mixed up! The ocean just traversed was named the South Sea, there being no evidence that it reached far to the northward; and so inveterate was the notion that Columbus had reached the eastern end of Asia, that the maps of the day now represented the Pacific as a vast gulf, bounded on the north—not far above the Equator—by a stretch of land reaching all the way across from China to Mexico; on the other side of which appeared, correctly enough, the Gulf of Mexico, the Florida peninsula, the West India Islands, and the northern and eastern coasts of South America. Nevertheless one more step in the discovery had been made—South America had emerged from the ocean with sufficient completeness.

Still there remained the task of lopping off America from China. That enormous ligature of land supposed to hold Asia and America together like colossal geographical Siamese twins, must be eliminated from the world's conceptions, before they could know our hemisphere. A number of expeditions familiar from our school histories, passing in rapid review before the mind, are seen to accomplish the matter. We behold Cortes creeping up along lower California, and Coronada penetrating far into the continent along the Colorado River. At the other extremity in a direct northeasterly line, the French are ere long ascending the St. Lawrence, and the great lakes which feed it. After De Soto has struck the father of wat-

ers, about midway between source and mouth, again the French touch the vicinity of the origin; and the brave LaSalle—the refined gentleman but conqueror of hardships before which ruder natures sink—succeeds in descending down to its mouth. Then was conceived that great chain of fortresses all the way from the outlet of the Mississippi to the mouth of the St. Lawrence, which was to hold more than half of North America in the possession of France; and which is of importance just here only as exhibiting what by this time entered into the conception of North America. It need not here be told what the English had done, meantime, on the Atlantic coasts; it was an Englishman, also, Sir Francis Drake, who, on the other side of that great continent which was already known to contain the Colorado, sailed up the Western or Pacific coast of North America, far to the north of that supposed ligature of land, and standing boldly across the sea there seen, circumnavigated the globe, and forever dispelled the illusion that America was a part of Asia. The discovery is, therefore, now almost complete. America is now larger than Brazil; that name has spread over the southern continent, it has severed itself from Asia, and covered also the northern. The NEW WORLD is quite a different affair from that which men first thought it to be, from that little corner which Vespuclius first dignified with the sounding appellation. It has risen in clear and bold outlines from the western ocean; and another ocean so vast that east and west hopelessly confuse themselves upon its wide extent, rolls between it and Asia. But

even yet it was not certain that the severance from Asia was complete. Swiftly and boldly did the coast of Asia sweep toward the northeast, so far as men followed it, and beyond their furthest ken. As swiftly and boldly did the coast of America trend towards the northwest. What conclusion could be drawn but that they met somewhere in the frozen and unexplored North? It remained for Vitus Bering to settle that mooted point; and not until he had sailed up and down the narrow strait bearing his name, in the year 1728, was the separation of America from Asia fully established, and the real discovery of America, therefore, complete. "The work of two centuries," as Mr. Fiske calls it, was done.

One element or feature of the "Discovery of America" will be readily recognized to be a lifting of the veil from the kind of human life that was being lived in 1492, and which had been living on this hidden continent for centuries back. Mr. Fiske's "subsidiary theme" is this phase of the discovery, and it is very interesting to follow him in the unfolding of it. This study, as he conducts us into it, is especially refreshing to one who has grown weary of the senseless speculations and more baseless arguments of those people who want to establish a kinship between the American red men and the lost Ten Tribes of Israel. The evolutionary philosopher here comes to the foreground, and does not hesitate to base the calculations of his theory upon a few hundred thousand years, more or less. He is not troubled about the difficulty which meets those who seek to show that the Atlantic or Pacific

Ocean was crossed in the first instance in order to secure a population for the Western Hemisphere. He, too, falls in with the theory that from a common centre of origin the human race sent out a branch hither. But at the time our author sets them upon their journey no boats were necessary. He puts it back somewhere in the Glacial Period, when the submerged ridges running across the English Channel, and across the northern Atlantic were thrust above water, so that migrating races could go back and forth dryshod. "Whether the Indians are descended from this ancient population or not is a question with which we have as yet no satisfactory method of dealing. It is not unlikely that these glacial men may have perished from off the face of the earth, having been crushed and supplanted by stronger races. There may have been several successive waves of migration, of which the Indians were the latest." And Mr. Fiske adds, with charming naïveté: "There is time enough for a great many things to happen in a thousand centuries."

These speculations seem rather out of the line of "a journal devoted to American history." Yet the field is an inviting one. But what concerns us mainly just now is that this discussion of the conditions of human life in "ancient America" leads up to a consideration of the development of human society. There is unfolded before us, indeed a most interesting problem in social evolution. Taking Mr. Morgan's masterly analysis of civilization, with its divisions into savagery, barbarism and civilization, and the three subdivisions under the

two former—the reader is made to see just into what pigeon-holes the various races found in North and South America fall. Through these stages of social condition all the races of the earth have gone. In Europe, however, the memory of some of them even in the divisions of barbarism, had been completely lost because so long ago passed through. In America the highest stage of "civilization" reached was the middle status of barbarism. Even the Mexicans and Peruvians had not gone beyond this, because they had not yet learned to utilize iron. To show then what this interesting period in social evolution really was, Mr. Fiske gives a detailed account of the Conquest of Mexico and Peru, and the study of what the conquerors found there is of considerable importance in a truly historical understanding of the human race. We can not do better than conclude

this article with Mr. Fiske's own words upon this subject, as he announces it in his preface:

In order to view, in their true perspective, the series of events comprised in the discovery of America, one needs to form a mental picture of that strange world of savagery and barbarism to which civilized Europeans were for the first time introduced in the course of the 15th and 16th centuries. . . . Nothing that Europeans discovered during that stirring period was so remarkable as these antique phases of human society, the mere existence of which had scarcely been suspected and the real character of which it has been left for the present generation to begin to understand. . . . The progress of society was much slower in the western hemisphere than in the eastern, and in the days of Columbus and Cortes it had nowhere "caught up" to the points reached by the Egyptians of the old Empire, or by the builders of Mycenæ and Tiryns. . . . The imperishable interest of those episodes in the discovery of America known as the conquests of Mexico and Peru, consists chiefly in the glimpses they afford us of this primitive world."

LEONARD IRVING.

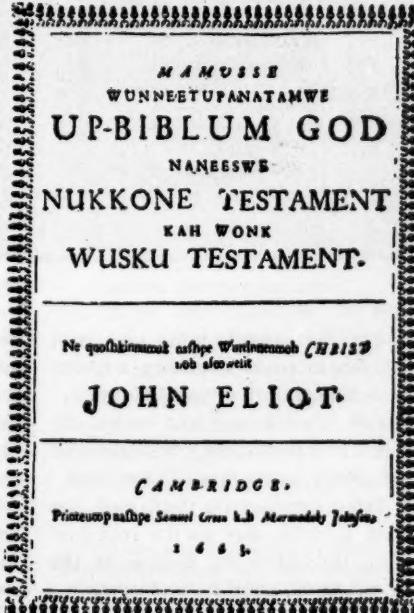


COLONIAL PRINTING IN THE SEVENTEENTH CENTURY.

TO New-York belongs the honor of being the first English colony in America to give governmental encouragement to the printer's art. In all the four other colonies in which the printing-press was set up prior to its establishment in New-York, the printers, far from receiving government aid, were soon called upon to answer for some infringement—real or fancied—of the dignity of the provincial authorities. In Virginia, the first English press south of Massachusetts was suppressed in 1682, and if, as is supposed, the Virginia printer was William Nuthead, he fared but little better on his removal to St. Mary's in Maryland. In 1643 Stephen Daye, Massachusetts' first printer, was put under £100 bonds by the General Court. Of Pennsylvania we shall speak later. Dr. Moore has not long since called attention to a small volume entitled "An Arrow against Idolatry," by Henry Ainsworth, which bears the fictitious imprint of "Novi Belgia, 1640," as well as to the fact that Francis Lovelace, the second English Governor of New-York, "soon after he assumed the government in 1668, manifested his desire for having a printer in the province by sending for one to New England; but he does not appear to have been successful in his application." The first step towards success was in the passage of the following resolution by the Provincial Council: "March 23, 1693. Resolved

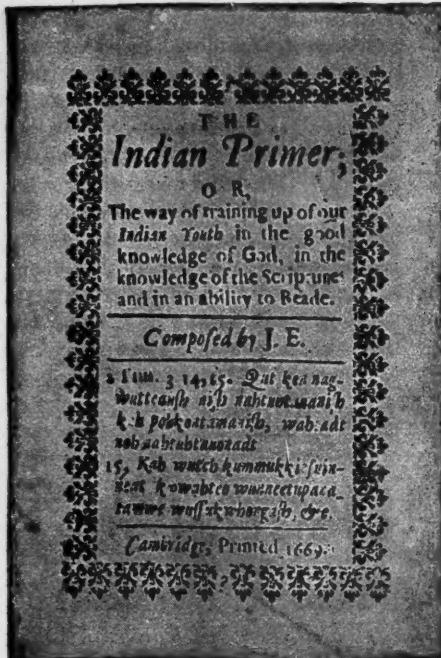
in Council, That if a Printer will come and settle in the city of New-York for the printing of our Acts of Assembly and Publick Papers, he shall be allowed the sum of £40 current money of New-York per annum for his salary and have the benefit of his printing besides what serves the publick." This offer met with a ready response from William Bradford, who for eight years had been engaged as printer and book-seller in Philadelphia.

His first publication there had been the "Kalendarium Pennsilvaniense, or America's Messinger; Being an



TITLE TO ELIOT'S INDIAN BIBLE.

Almanack for the Year of Grace 1686." This brought him a summons before the Governor and Council, for referring to the Proprietary, in the table of chronology, as "Lord Penn;" and, on his appearance, he was ordered to



THE ELIOT INDIAN PRIMER.

blot out the objectionable title, and forbidden to print anything without license from the Provincial Council.

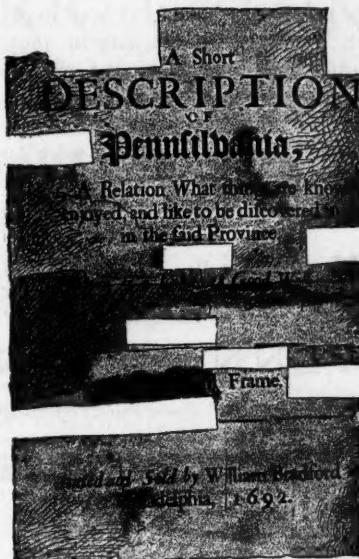
Bradford's first warrant for his salary as "Printer to King William and Queen Mary, at the city of New-York," was dated October 12, 1693, and was for six months, due on the 10th preceding, thus showing that upon the 10th of April, 1693, he had complied with the terms of the resolution of the Council passed in the previous March,

and introduced the art and mystery of his craft into New-York. What was the first product of his press is a matter of doubt. It may have been, as Dr. Moore suggests, the "Journal of the Late Actions of the French at Canada," or "New England's Spirit of Persecution Transmitted to Pennsylvania," or the Act of Assembly noticed later. The first of these is certainly among the very earliest issues of the New-York press, as the London edition was licensed on September 11, 1693, while the license for the reprint of the second bears date of October 19, 1693. It has been argued that "New England's Spirit of Persecution" was printed before Bradford left Philadelphia, because he omitted his name from the imprint, but he made the same omission in Keith's "Truth Advanced," which was not published till nearly a year after his settlement in New-York, and in Maule's "Truth Held Forth," which was not printed till 1695; this argument is therefore of no weight. On the other hand, it must be remembered that the year in Pennsylvania then began by law on March 1st, and anything printed prior to that day would have been dated 1692. The title-page of "New England's Spirit" says "Printed in the Year 1693"; and as we have already said the tract is a report of Bradford's trial at the December term of the Court of Quarter Sessions. The last leaf of the tract contains an account of his appearance at the next court, which was not held until March, 1692-93, and it could not

therefore have been written till after the first week of that month; and as he certainly issued two, and probably three small works in Philadelphia during the brief portion of 1693 he remained there, and his office was still crippled by seizure made in the preceding September, he could hardly have got out this tract before his removal to New-York.

Besides the two pamphlets just mentioned, three separately printed acts of the New-York Assembly, passed in 1692 and 1693, and an ordinance establishing courts, passed in 1691, are of uncertain priority. The coincidence of the date of one of the former, "An Act for raising six Thousand Pound for the payment of three Hundred Volunteers and their Officers to be employed in the Reinforcement of the Frontiers of this Province at Albany," etc., passed April 10, 1693, with the commencement of Bradford's term of office, suggests the probability of its having been the very first print of his press in New-York. Lancaster's "Queries to the Quakers" and the "New England Primer," of which only fragments have been preserved, also hold uncertain positions as to their order of appearance among the publications of this year. The order in which the remaining known issues of Bradford's press appeared during its first year must be nearly as follows: An Act for the Assembly of Pennsylvania levying a tax for the support of the government, passed June 2; Fletcher's Proclamation granting license to

Warner Wessells and Antie Christians to collect money for the redemption of their relatives from slavery in Salee, dated June 8th; A translation of the same in Dutch; A Proclamation in regard to erecting Fire Beacons to give warning of invasions from Canada, dated August 25th; A Catalogue of Fees, after September 20; An Ex-



FROM THE ONLY KNOWN COPY.¹

hortation and Caution to Friends Concerning the buying or keeping of Negroes,² after October 13th; An Account of Several Passages and letters between his Excellency Benjamin Fletcher, etc., And the present Administrators of the Laws in the Colony of Connecticut, after October; A Proc-

¹ The copy of Frame's poem belonging to the Library Company of Philadelphia is unique, and no other perfect copy is known of the Book of Common Prayer except that in the possession of the Pennsylvania Historical Society.

² The first protest against slavery printed in America. It was reprinted in the "Pennsylvania Magazine of History and Biography for 1889," from the only known copy, now in the library of Devonshire meeting house, London.

lamation urging the people of Connecticut to yield obedience to their Majesties Commission to Fletcher to be Governor of that colony, dated November 8th, A Proclamation relative to deserters from the army and navy and travellers and others without passes, dated November 13th; and Leeds' Almanac for 1694. The imprint of the last is dated 1694, but it was, no doubt, issued, as was usual with like publications, late in 1693. Bradford maintained to the end of his career this practice of dating the imprint of almanacs published by him with the year for which they were to serve, while the advertisements in his newspapers show that they were gen-

erally on sale about October of the preceding year.

The almanac for 1694 announces Keith's "Truth Advanced" as "now in the Press," and the speedy printing of the Laws of the Province. The former small quarto volume of two hundred and twenty-four pages is, with the exception of Maule's "Truth Held Forth," the largest work printed by Bradford at one time prior to 1710. It is printed on paper made at the Rittenhouse Mill, of which Bradford was part owner, and in the watermark of some of the sheets can be seen the name of the manufacturer. The Hebrew letters which occur in its pages made the compiler of the Brinley catalogue skeptical as to its having come from Bradford's press, because he had "not found them in any other volume printed by him." But they are to be seen on page 8 of "New England's Spirit of Persecution."

Thomas Maule was born in Warwickshire, England, in 1645, and died in Salem, Mass., in 1724. In his religious faith he was a Quaker. He was in many respects a remarkable person, and without the possibility of contradiction, a stanch defender of his religious opinions, a troublesome man to the authorities of Massachusetts Colony, and a thorn in the side of Cotton Mather. He was the author of several works, three of which were printed by William Bradford in New-York be-

New-England's Spirit of Persecution

Transmitted To

PENNSILVANIA,

And the Pretended *Quaker* found Persecuting the True

Christian - Quaker,

IN THE

TRYAL

OF

*Peter Boys, George Keith, Thomas Budd,
and William Bradford,*

At the Sessions held at Philadelphia the Ninth, Tenth and
Twelfth Days of December, 1692. Giving an Account
of the most Arbitrary Procedure of that Court.

Printed in the Year 1693.

FROM THE LENOX LIBRARY COPY.

The work of which two fac-simile pages are given, reduced one-third, is so far as known believed by many to be the earliest and "the most considerable monument of typography in New York previous to 1700." The following is its title: "Truth Held Forth and maintained According to the Testimony of the holy Prophets, Christ and his Apostles recorded in the holy Scriptures. With some Account of the Judgements of the Lord lately inflicted upon New England by Witchcraft. To which is added Something concerning the Fall of Adam, his state in the Fall and the way of Restoration to God again With many other Weighty things necessary for People to Weigh and consider." Printed by W. Bradford. Quarto, pp. viii., and 260. On December 12, 1695, the Massachusetts authorities issued to the sheriff of Essex County a warrant for the arrest of Thomas Maule of Salem for printing, and publishing without license of authority this book. The return of the warrant by George Corwin, the sheriff, was made on December 14, 1695, and states that he had seized said Maule and thirty-one copies of the work. Maule was confined in the jail in Salem, and the books burnt by the public executioner. In his second work, also printed by William Bradford in New-York in 1697, entitled "New England Prosecutors Mauled With

their own Weapons," etc., which gives an account of this trial in Boston, he states, page 61, that his "Copy [manuscript of the work] is in another government in the hands of the printer."

**Truth Advanced
IN THE
CORRECTION
OF MANY
Gross & hurtful Errors;
Wherein is occasionally opened & explained many great and
peculiar Mysteries and Doctrines of the
Christian Religion.**

By George Keith.

Whereunto is added,
*A Chronological Treatise of the several Ages
of the WORLD:*

Showing the Intervals Time & Effects of the Seven Churches
Seven Seals, Seven Trumpets, and seven Vials, called, *The Seven
Plagues*; and the various dreadful Effects that are like to ensue at the
pouring forth of each of them, which is near at hand.
Together with an Account of the Time of the Churches going
into the Wilderness, her Return, full Restoration, and Universal
spreading of the glorious Gospel into all Nations of the Earth.
A, also, the time of the Personal Anti-christ, his Reign and last
Persecution; With the Time of the Prophecy, Killing and Riving
again of the two Witnesses.
And Lastly Concerning the Thousand Years Reign of the
Saints with Christ yet to come, and time of beginning thereof, only
by way of Essay and Hypothesis.

FROM THE NEW YORK HISTORICAL SOCIETY COPY.

In Judge Sewell's Diary, published by the Massachusetts Historical Society in 1878, Vol. I, page 416, it is said, under date December 16, 1695, that "Thomas Maule Shopkeeper of Salem is brought before the council for printing and publishing a quarto of 260 pages entitled Truth held forth and maintained—owns the book but will not own all till sees his copy which is at N. York with—Bradford who printed it, Saith he writt to the

Governour of New-York before he could get it printed. Book is ordered to be burnt," etc. Chapter XXIX. of *Truth Held Forth* and maintained is a masterly exposé of the Salem Witchcraft Delusion, and is, so far as at present known, the earliest printed refutation extant. Perhaps the most perfect copy of this extremely rare work, and from which the fac-similes were made, is in the library of Dr. Samuel S. Purple of New-York. The few copies of this book of which we

manded by the "Laws and Acts of the General Assembly of their Majesties Province of New-York, As they were enacted in divers Sessions the first of which began April the 9th, Anno Domini, 1691. At New-York, Printed and Sold by William Bradford, 1694," have made it the most famous of all of Bradford's publications. As originally issued it consisted of eighty-four small folio pages, to which were added the Catalogue of Fees and the three separately issued

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acts printed in 1693, making one hundred and twelve pages in all. To this Bradford continued to add the acts passed by successive assemblies down to 1709, and so carelessly was the work performed that it has resulted in a bibliographical puzzle which no one has yet thoroughly mastered. Of the seven copies known to exist no two are exactly alike in their contents and pagination. Mr. Brinley's copy sold in 1880 for \$1600; Mr. Vanderpool's in 1888 for \$1450; and in 1889 a copy lacking the title-page was sold privately for \$1750; all these of course contained more or less of the laws added between 1694 and 1710. Bradford also printed in 1694 the first edition of the "Charter and Laws of the City of New-York," but no copy is now known to be extant. In 1695 he began printing the "Votes of Assembly,"

the earliest publication of the proceedings of an American legislature, and in consideration of this additional labor his salary was raised to £60.

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God, before whom, in the time of pravine & prophecying
the Head is to be uncovered, for the Head of every man is
Christ, and the Head of Christ is iod; which proves a dis-
honour to the Name of the Lord, to honour men, whose
hearts they know, not as to God, but honour them in the
same form as they do the Lord, when their Prayers are
made to him, who is the searcher of all hearts, and give
to every man according to the fruits of his doings, which
to the airblud will be a Crown of Righteouness to the
honest Head, but to the Sinner, though a hundred yeare old,
he is accursed, which also doth of Hat-Honour, by
which men hon.our that which is accursed of God..

CHAP. XXIX.

*Concerning the great Judgments of God upon the Inhabitants
of New-England by Witch-craft.*

Witch-craft is altogether wrought, through the Spirit and Power of the Devil, which rules in the Children of Disobedience, who remain in the Works of the flesh, with which Witch-craft is included, Gal. 5. and 1. 20. for which cause the just Judgments of God, are the Reward of all Wicked and Ungodly men, but to all that repent, their Sins and Blasphemies, where-withsoever they shall blaspheme, shall be forgiven, but he that blasphemeth against the holy Ghost, shall not be forgiven in this World, nor the world to come; Job. 9. 6. 17. Mat. 23. 10. Now as to divers Authors, their apprehensions are various, in differing one from the other about Witches and Witch-craft, which to prevent error,

that

FROM MAULE'S "TRUTH HELD FORTH."

have any knowledge lack the title-page.

The historical importance, rarity, and, of late years, the high price com-

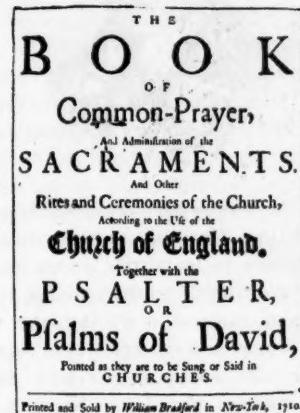
In 1696 he reprinted, with some alterations, an old French work—"Le Trésor des Consolations Divines et Humaines." The expense of the work was borne by Mr. A. Pintard, in fulfilment of a vow made by him during a dangerous illness. Among the publications in 1697 John Clap's Almanac for that year—the first almanac compiled in New-York—of which Brinley's very imperfect copy sold for \$420; Leeds' "News of a Trumpet" and Maule's "New England Persecutors Mauld" are the most important.

"A Letter from a Gentleman in the City of New-York," a copy of which sold at the Barlow sale in 1889 for \$320, and Francis Daniel Pastorius' "New Primer, or Methodical Directions to Attain the True Spelling, Reading, and Writing of English;" were also issued in 1698.

Leeds' "Trumpet sounded out of the Wilderness" is the only work printed in 1699, except an almanac and the usual public documents, which has been preserved. In 1700 Bradford published "A Hue and Cry against Errors," one of the endless number of tracts arising out of the Keithian controversy (the books by Leeds mentioned under 1697 and 1698 refer to the same subject), and Southwick's "Gospel Order Revived." The latter was an attack on Mather's "Order of Gospel," printed in Boston in the preceding year, and to the pamphlet was prefixed an "Advertisement. The Reader is desired to take Notice, that the Press in Boston is so much under the aw [sic] of the Reverend Author whom we answer, and his Friends, that we could not obtain of the Printer there to print the fol-

lowing sheets, which is the only reason why we have sent the copy so far for its impression, and where it [sic] printed with some Difficulty." Bradford seems to have considered the last seven words to cast an imputation on his professional skill, and caused them to be taken out of the form, so that in most of the known copies they do not appear.

The recall of Fletcher in 1698 deprived Bradford of a stanch and in-



THE FIRST PRAYER BOOK.

fluent friend, and with Lord Bellomont, the new Governor, he soon quarreled, the climax being reached in 1700, when his salary was suspended. But the suspension was only temporary. Bellomont died, and in less than a year, by order of Lord Cornbury, Bellomont's successor, Bradford's salary was restored to him. The beginning of the new century found the press firmly established in New-York, and the first printer entering on a long course of well-merited prosperity.

HENRY LAWSON WYATT,

THE FIRST CONFEDERATE SOLDIER KILLED IN BATTLE.



IT is somewhat remarkable that North Carolina, which was the last State to leave the Union, should have furnished the first soldier to the grim monster who during the next four long and weary years was to claim such a host of victims. Secession was not popular in North Carolina; the State was so thoroughly for the Union that in February, 1861, after seven of the States to the south had seceded and after delegates from those States had visited North Carolina to induce her to secede, her people refused to call even a convention to consider the question of secession. It was not until President Lincoln called on North Carolina for her

quota of troops to crush the seceding States that her determination changed. It then became evident that North Carolina must fight for her southern sisters, or against them. The dispatch in which the governor answered the call of President Lincoln voiced the sentiment of the whole people. Governor Ellis telegraphed that the President could get no troops in North Carolina. The die was cast, a convention was called, and on May 20, 1861, the State left the Union. North Carolina was slow in casting the die. But when this was done she entered the Confederacy with all the *elan* of southern character. She was to furnish upwards of one sixth of the whole number of men in the Confederate army; forty thousand of her sons, more than twice as many as came from any other State, were to fall on the field of battle or to die in prison; and her twenty-sixth regiment was to suffer on the first day at Gettysburg a loss of eighty-six and three-tenths per cent, the greatest loss sustained by any one regiment on either side during the war.¹ The resources of North Carolina were such and had been so well husbanded by her Gov-

¹ These are the figures of Lt. Col. Wm. F. Fox in his *Regimental Losses in the American Civil War, 1861-1865*. Col. Fox estimates the total forces of the Confederacy at about 600,000 men. The military population of N. C. in 1861 was 115,369, the vote cast for governor in 1861 being 112,586. Moore in his *Roster of North Carolina Troops*, puts the total enrollment at 104,498, but the enumeration of one regiment and of various companies is missing. In Nov. 1864, Adj. Gen.

Gatlin reported 108,032 men in the Confederate service. This did not include 9,903 Junior and Senior reserves, nor 3,962 home guards and militia officers, nor 3,103 troops in unattached companies or in regiments from other States. The total according to this report footed up 125,000 men. Col. Fox says that N. C. lost 40,475 men killed in battle, by wounds and disease; S. C. comes second with 17,682; Virginia was fourth with 14,794. These figures need no comment.

ernor, Vance, that as far as she was concerned the war might have been continued a year longer, and the first soldier who fell in battle for the Lost Cause was to come from North Carolina.¹

This soldier was Henry Lawson Wyatt. He was born in Richmond, Virginia, February 12, 1842. His parents were Isham Belcher and Lucinda N. L. Wyatt. He was apprenticed to the carpenter's trade at an early age, and in October, 1856, accompanied his father to North Carolina, and ultimately settled in Tarboro, Edgecombe county. Here he followed his trade and by faithful work and upright deportment made friends in the community. This is the brief narrative of the first nineteen years of Wyatt's life. From this time his career is a part of the history of a great struggle.

It became evident in April, 1861, that North Carolina must secede or fight the southern States. Private parties, anticipating the action of the State, were organizing and drilling troops for service. One of the first of these companies was the "Edgecombe Guards" of Edgecombe county. It was organized April 18, 1861, and on that day Henry Lawson Wyatt enlisted in it as a private soldier. It consisted of eighty-eight privates, nine non- and four commissioned officers. Its captain was John Luther Bridgers, of Edgecombe county. Its commanding colonel was Daniel Harvey Hill, of Mecklenburg, who became later a Lieutenant General in the Confederate service. The company became known as A,

of what was then the first regiment of North Carolina volunteers. This regiment was the first of all the North Carolina troops to organize and take the field. Its term of enlistment was for six months and it was disbanded in the fall of 1861. After the enlistment of ten regiments of State troops this became known as the Bethel regiment from its first battle, and by this name it has passed into history.

The battle, from which it took its name, was fought Monday, the tenth of June, 1861, at Bethel, or Big Bethel, or Bethel Church, situated on the Yorktown road, nine miles from Hampton, Virginia. It had been occupied on the night of the sixth of June by the Confederates from Yorktown. These troops consisted of the first North Carolina regiment, Colonel D. H. Hill commanding, with Lieutenant-Colonel Charles C. Lee as second in command, and four pieces of Randolph's battery. Colonel Hill found a branch of Back river in his front and encircling his right flank. On his left was a dense and almost impenetrable wood except about one hundred and fifty yards of old field. The rear was covered by the road, a thick wood and a narrow cultivated field. The position had the inherent defect of being commanded by an immense open field on which the enemy might be readily deployed. Colonel Hill determined to make an enclosed work. The bridge over the river to his right was commanded by the artillery, an eminence beyond the creek was occupied and a battery put into

¹ It is not claimed that Wyatt was the first Confederate soldier killed. Captain John Q. Marr of the War-

renton (Virginia) Volunteers had been shot by pickets on June 1.

place. The work of fortification was kept up during the seventh and eighth, and on the ninth, which was Sunday, the men worked and prayed by turns. They were aroused at three on Monday to advance on the enemy, but finding him too strong fell back on their entrenchments and awaited his approach. A reinforcement of one hundred and eighty men from the third Virginia regiment was stationed on the hill on the extreme right. Company G, first North Carolina, later Bethel regiment, was thrown over to protect the howitzer, and company A, first North Carolina, took post in the dense wood beyond and to the left of the road. The Confederates, about fourteen hundred strong, awaited the enemy in their entrenchments. At 9 A. M. his heavy columns approached rapidly and in good order.

These troops had been sent out from Hampton by Major-General Butler, then commanding in the department of Virginia. They were commanded by Brigadier-General E. W. Pierce and were about thirty-five hundred strong, consisting of eight hundred and fifty men of the fifth New York volunteers under Colonel Duryea, six hundred and fifty of the third New York, under Colonel Townsend, seven hundred and fifty from the seventh New York, fourth Massachusetts, and first Vermont under Colonel Bendix of the seventh New York, with others from the second New York under Colonel Carr, and from the first New York under Colonel Allen, with a detachment from the second United States artillery with several pieces.

The Federals attacked gallantly,

but after a fight of two hours and a half were defeated, having lost eighteen killed, fifty-three wounded and five missing. The Confederates lost one killed and eleven wounded. This death happened toward the close of the action. A strong column of Federals consisting of Massachusetts troops, under the leadership of Major Theodore Winthrop, crossed over the creek and appeared at the angle on the Confederate left. Here they were opposed by companies B, C and G, first North Carolina, and by Captain Bridgers with Company A, who had been recalled from the swamp where he was first posted and had retaken in splendid fashion, the work from which Captain Brown, of the artillery, had been compelled to withdraw a disabled gun to prevent its capture. The enemy made a rush hoping to get within the Confederate lines. They were met by a cool and deliberate fire, but were concealed in part by a house. Volunteers were called for to burn this house. Corporal George Williams, privates Henry L. Wyatt, Thomas Fallan and John H. Thorpe, of company A, advanced to perform the duty. Their duty was to charge across an open field, two hundred yards wide, in face of the enemy's lines and commanded by his sharpshooters. They behaved with great gallantry, but had advanced only about thirty yards when Wyatt fell pierced through the brain by a musket ball. The other three were wounded and remained on the earth until a shell from a howitzer fired the house and helped to route the enemy. About the same time that private Wyatt fell on the Confeder-

ate side, the gallant Major Winthrop fell on the other, one of the first officers to fall in the war. He was a native of Connecticut and his native State has long since perpetuated his memory.

The conduct of young Wyatt was spoken of in the highest terms by J. B. Magruder, colonel commanding the Confederate forces, by his own regimental commander D. H. Hill, by George W. Randolph, then in charge of the Richmond Howitzers and afterwards Secretary of War for the Confederacy, and by all who on that day were witnesses of his gallant but unavailing heroism.

The remains were taken to Richmond and interred in the soldier's section in Hollywood, near where the Confederate monument now is. A board of pine inscribed with his name, regiment, time and place of death, was his only monument. In

1887 this had rotted away and was found face downward. I do not know that the grave has yet been properly marked.

But the State of North Carolina has shown her sense of duty and gratitude to the young hero. The General Assembly of 1891 ordered an oil painting (25x30) of Wyatt to be made at the public expense. The work was executed by Miss Mary A. E. Nixon, an artist of Raleigh, and now adorns the main reading room of the State Library. Persons who knew the young soldier in life say that the artist has caught the very spirit of his daring and chivalrous soul. It is also proposed to surmount the Confederate monument in Raleigh, of which the corner stone is to be laid in October, 1892, with a statue of Wyatt with an appropriate inscription.¹

STEPHEN B. WEEKS.

¹ Young Wyatt's mother had been left a widow and toward the close of the war married a man named Cook, and removed to Bath county, Virginia. She died in 1891. The ambrotype from which the painting

now in the State Library was made was secured from Mrs. M. P. Clarke of Richmond. The official reports of the battle of Bethel will be found in Official Records of War of Rebellion, Ser. I., Vol.II., pp.77-104.



THE DIARY OF BENJAMIN JEWETT—1758.¹

BENJAMIN JEWETT was a private in one of the regiments composing the contingent of Colonial troops in the army under general Abercrombie and Lord Howe, to whom was entrusted the invasion of Canada, in 1758. It was the repetition of the often-foiled plan of campaign: a land attack aimed at Montreal and Quebec, combined with a naval attack by way of the St. Lawrence,

Like a dark thundercloud threatening dire destruction, the menace of war ever hung over the Colonies on their northern borders. With Canada in the possession of the French there was to be no rest, or peace, or safety for the English colonists, for it was the determination of the French government to drive out the English altogether. The plan of a cordon of forts all the way from the mouth of the Mississippi to that of the St. Lawrence had long been present in the minds of French Statesmen, and was approaching something like realization about the middle of the eighteenth century. But then the determination to force France from America was entertained as fixedly by the great Pitt, and he wisely designed to utilize the Americans themselves in carrying out a scheme so vitally important to them, while of as great profit to the mother country. He devised indeed the old plan over again, of a combined naval and land attack on Canada; but there was to be no vacillating on the part

of the home-government, and at the same time a straight forward appeal was made to the manliness and patriotism of the colonists. The fleet despatched from England was very powerful, and what is better, it came to these shores, a thing it failed to do in the campaign of 1709. As to the army, England engaged to provide arms, ammunition and tents; the colonists were to take care of the levying, clothing, and paying, of their own contingent.

The forces detailed to march upon Canada from the heart of the colonies, were given in command to General Abercrombie; but with him was associated Lord Howe, a young nobleman of fine character and ability, who was "the soul of the enterprise." Bancroft remarks of him: "To high rank and great connections [he] added a capacity to discern merit, judgement to employ it, and readiness, to adapt himself to the hardships of forest warfare." It is unfortunate that early in this unlucky expedition, during a mere skirmish of outposts, this important, if not all-important member of it, was killed. The inefficient Abercrombie could secure nothing but defeat and disaster. The diary hardly emphasizes sufficiently the significance of this loss; the death of Lord Howe is mentioned only incidentally, somewhat as an after-thought.

The diary of Jewett enables us to

¹ This extract from the Diary of Benjamin Jewett, an authentic copy from the original leaves of the

journal, is contributed by Howbert Billman, Editor of the "Nebraska Press," Nebraska City, Neb.

trace him step by step through various Connecticut towns, until he crosses the borders into New York, and reaches Greenbush, opposite Albany. He then marches with the army to Lake George; embarks on batteaux, and lands at Sabbath Point. Ticonderoga, as the English called it, Fort Carillon as the French called it, stood a grim sentinel in the way of the progress to Canada, and no less a person than Gen. Montcalm was there to dispute the passage of the English. Had Wolfe confronted him here, or had Howe only lived long enough, the story of the conflict might have had a different sequel. But Abercrombie with more than four times the troops that Montcalm commanded, was seized with "extremest fright and consternation," and retreated in all haste. Even the fragmentary character of a private soldier's daily jottings gives us a good idea of his precipitation to get away. It was a great pity that so fine an array of men should have been so disgracefully handled, and driven to inevitable defeat instead of to certain victory.

Bancroft's description of its array and composition on the way to Canada is vivacious, and bears in mind the greatest military events soon to follow which were to result in our independence; "Meantime nine thousand and twenty-four provincials, from New England, New York, and New Jersey, assembled on the shore of Lake George. There were six hundred New England rangers, dressed like woodmen; armed with a fire-lock and a hatchet; under their right arm a powder horn; a leather bag for bullets at their waist; and to each officer a pocket compass as a guide in the for-

ests. There was Stark of New Hampshire, already promoted to be a Captain. There was the generous open-hearted Israel Putnam, now a major, leaving his good farm round which his own hands had helped to build the walls, of a gentle disposition, brave and artless. There were the chaplains, who preached to the regiments of citizen soldiers a renewal of the days when Moses with the rod of God in his hand sent Joshua against Amalek. By the side of the provincials rose the tents of the regular army, six thousand three hundred and sixty seven in number."

As usual the New England historian (although Bancroft often escapes that blame) omits all mention of the accoutrements or accompaniments of the troops from New York and New Jersey: and the diary does not help us out, as Jewett was one of these "be-preached" woodmen rangers of New England. The reader will find some mention of the "Jarsey" men among his notes.

It seems incredible that this army of 15,391 men should not have been able to overwhelm a force of only 3,250, which was all that Montcalm could muster. Provincials and regulars both fought bravely, but by a series of blunders they were led into awkward and perilous situations. At one time one party of the English fired upon a division of reserves coming up for their relief, and Gen. Abercrombie kept himself in safe quarters about two miles from the field of battle.

But we must now let Jewett tell his own story. There is nothing like such a personal record as a diary to take one back into the very times and circumstances of any period. Within

the narrow lines in which such experiences as those of a private soldier in the colonial days necessarily passed, there is, of course, little or no perspective but a great gain in vividness of impression. With the surrounding circumstances and larger movements

that affected his own limited motions from day to day, before and after the battle,—he of course could not deal. But knowing what was determining his experiences from day to day, it is interesting to read his individual account.

April ye 13 day, 1758, I enlisted for ye expedition of Canada.

June ye 5 I left home; June ye 6 I came from Windham and lodged at Coventree at Fowler's; June ye 7 I came to Herforde; June ye 8 I came from Hartford to Farmingtontown, which is ten miles; June ye 9 I went from Farmingtontown to Harwington at Cadling's which is twelve miles; June ye 10 I went from Harwingtontown to Windsor through Litchfield, which is fifteen miles.

Ye above Windsor is Goshon. Ye 11 day I came to Canan; ye 12 day I came to Sheaffield; ye 13 day I came to ye stonehouse; ye 14 day I came from ye stonehouse through Centerbroock town and stopt at Miller's, which is three miles east of ye halfway house. Ye 15 day I came to Albany, that is Greenbush, not ye City; ye 17 day I went down to Centerbroock point, which is twenty miles down ye river after battows; ye 18 day I came back to Greenbush; ye 19 day I went from Greenbush to ye west side of ye river; ye 22 day we marcht from Albany to ye Half Moon, which is twelve miles; ye 23 day marcht from ye Half Moon to Stillwaughter which is twelve miles; ye 24 day we marcht from Stillwaughter to Saratoga which is twelve miles; ye 25 day we marcht from Saratoga to Fort Edward, which is fourteen miles; ye 27 day we marcht from Fort Edward to ye Lake George, which is thi:teen miles, and camped thair.

July ye 5 day we marcht from ye camps at the lake towards Ticonderoga. We marcht at about seaven a'clock in ye morning; we went in battoes and not by land, and about sundown we got to Sabbath Day Point and landed their, and about ten a'clock that night we Set of and ye next day abought eight a'clock in ye morning Cornol Broadstreet and Maijour Rouggers landed at ye nort end of Lake George wheir ye French advanced gard was kept with a considdarabel number of men, and ye French soone run and left it, and abought noon ye rest of ye army landed abought a mile and a half

before they got to wheir ye advanced gard was kept. We landed upon ye west side of ye lake and abought three a'clock ye same day we marcht forward towards ye fort at ye narrows and we marcht abought three miles upon ye west side of ye lake. Col. Fitch was in ye frunt with his ridgament and before night we ware beset in ye rear of ye ridgament with a pritty many of ye enemy and their was a ridgament of ye Jarsey Blues, next to our ridgament and ye regalars followed after them. Our ridgament began ye fire. Maijour Roggers with his men was neare by and as soon as ye fire began evary ridgament made towards ye enemy as fast as they cold and soone drove them. We took a hundred and seaventy French prisoners and killed many of them. We lost but a verry few men, supposed not to be above thirty or forty in ye whole. I was in ye fight but had not a chance to fire wonce, and by that time ye fight was over. It was a most night and we all marcht back to ye place wheir we first landed. Their was not one hirt that belonged to our company. It was ye 6 day of July and ye year 1758.

Ye 7 day in ye afternoon ye army marcht forward again toward ye narrows. Col. Fitche's ridgament marcht in ye rear abought sundown, and we marcht acros ye lake at ye west end upon lodgs wheir ye advanced gard was kept, and we marcht allmost to ye saw-mill, which is witin abought a mile and a hlf of ye fort.

Ye 8 day ye artillary was caryed in ye morning towards ye fort, and sum fire began, and abought noon ye army marcht down to ye brestwork to ye French. Ye Connecticut ridgaments did not go, but kept chiefly upon ye south side of ye lake. Ye regalars, with ye Bay and York forces, went to ye battle at ye French brestworks. Ye regalars were drawed up within five rods of ye brestworks in plain sight and ye French kept behind ye brestwork and fired smartly on them. Ye New Ingland men kept behind tres and logs as much as they cold, but ye regalars kept so nigh and in plain sight that ye French cut them down amazin, and ye fight held till abought sundown; and then ye whole of ye army marcht from ye brestwork and marcht to a place wheair ye advanced gard stood and caryed ye artillary with them. That night Col. Fitche's companies that belonged to his ridgaments were chiefly in ye woods on ye south side of ye lake with seavaral companies belonging to Cornol

Whightings and Col. Woster's ridgaments and in ye morning ye whole of ye army got togeather at ye lake and sot of in battoes as fast as they colde and came to ye south end of ye lake and that night camped their again. Lord How was killed ye 6 day of July in ye first of ye fight.

Ye 8 day abought noon ye regalars and Bay and York and Jarsey Blues began ye fight. Ye 20 day of July their went a post from ye lake with ten men towards Ford Edward and a little before they got to ye half way brok nine of ye men war killed, and their went a party out of ye picket fort of two hundred men and ware moved back and their was killed 26 men in ye whole.

July ye 25 their was a man hanged at ye lake for plundering his own nation, and he was a ragaler.

July ye 28 day their was thirty-five teemes and three waggons agoing loaded with provisions and wine and rasons up to ye lake from Fort Edward with a gard of fifty or sixty men, and before they got to ye halfway brook they ware beset with a large number of ye enemy and ye teemes ware all killed and a most all ye men.

Ye 29 day at abought fore a'clock in ye morning Maijour Putman sot of with abought a thousand men down ye lake and landed at Shogerlofe Hill and went over to ye south bay to walai ye French when they went back, but ye French got their before them, and it was amost night and they heard them fire and holler. Ye 30 day in ye morning Col. Liman went down ye lake to wheir Putman landed with above a thousand men and in ye afternoon there went two hundred men more to join Col. Liman, and I was with them, and in ye night we lost our company and went down to wheir ye reagalers landed within gunshot. Leftenorant Hawkins was our commander, and ye 2 day of August we got back. Ye 5 day of August Col. Fitche's ridgament marcht from ye lake to Fort Edward and camped their.

August ye 18 day I went sick into ye hospital and ye 23 day I came out again.

November ye 6 day Col Fitche's ridgament marcht from Fort Edward and marcht 3 miles below Saratoga; ye 7 day we marcht to Half Moon, and ye 8 day to Greenbush; ye 10 day Col. Fitche's ridgament marcht from Greenbush and marcht to ye halfway house; ye 15 day I got home.

ORIGINAL DOCUMENT

BANNEKER'S APPEAL TO JEFFERSON FOR EMANCIPATION.

SOME months ago the writer visited the Land Office of Maryland, at Annapolis, in search of certain genealogical information, and while prosecuting his investigations was shown a number of interesting and curious historical relics and manuscripts there preserved. Mr. George M. Shafer, who has been chief clerk of this office since 1869, takes considerable pride in the ancient books and papers in his custody, and has gradually acquired an historical museum which occupies a department in the Land Office building. One of the curious treasures shown us was a fac-simile of a copy of a letter written in 1791 by a negro, Benjamin Banneker, to Thomas Jefferson, then Secretary of State, together with Jefferson's reply. Banneker's remarkable letter explains itself, and we give it without further comment:

Maryland, Baltimore County, near
Ellicott's Lower Mills, Augt. 19th:
1791.

THOMAS JEFFERSON Secretary of State.

SIR:—I am fully sensible of the greatness of that freedom which I take with you on the present occasion; a liberty which seemed to me Scarcely allowable, when I reflected

on that distinguished and dignified station in which you Stand, and the almost general prejudice and prepossession which is so prevalent in the world against those of my complexion.

I suppose it is a truth too well attested to you, to need a proof here, that we are a race of Beings who have long laboured under the abuse and censure of the world, that we have long been considered rather as brutish than human, and scarcely capable of mental endowments.

Sir I hope I may Safely admit, in consequence of that report which hath reached me, that you are a man far less inflexible in Sentiments of this nature, than many others, that you are measureably friendly and well disposed toward us, and that you are willing and ready to lend your aid and assistance to our relief from those many distresses and numerous calamities to which we are reduced.

Now, Sir, if this is founded in truth, I apprehend you will readily embrace every opportunity, to eradicate that train of absurd and false ideas and opinions which so generally prevails with respect to us, and that your Sentiments are concurrent with mine

which are that one universal Father hath given Being to us all, and that he hath not only made us all of one flesh, but that he hath also without partiality, afforded us all the same sensations, and endued us all with the Same faculties, and that however variable we may be in Society or religion, however diversified in Situation or colour, we are all of the same family, and Stand in the Same relation to him.

Sir, if these are sentiments of which you are fully persuaded, I hope you cannot but acknowledge, that it is the indispensible duty of those who maintain for themselves the rights of human nature and who profess the obligations of christianity, to extend their power and influence to the relief of every part of the human race, from whatever burthen or oppression they may unjustly labour under, and this I apprehend a full conviction of the truth and obligation of these principles should lead all to.

Sir, I have long been convinced, that if your love for yourselves, and for those inestimable laws which preserve to you the rights of human nature, was founded on Sincerity, you could not but be Sollicitous that every individual of whatever rank or distinction, might with you equally enjoy the blessings thereof, neither could you rest satisfied, short of the most active diffusion of your exertions, in order to their promotions from any State of degradation, to which the unjustifiable cruelty and barbarism of men may have reduced them.

Sir, I freely and cheerfully acknowledge, that I am of the African race, and in that colour which is nat-

ural to them of the deepest dye, and it is under a Sense of the most profound gratitude to the Supreme Ruler of the universe, that I now confess to you, that I am not under that state of tyrannical thralldom, and inhuman captivity, to which too many of my brethren are doomed; but that I have abundantly tasted of the fruition of those blessings, which proceed from that free and unequalled liberty with which you are favoured, and which I hope you will willingly allow you have receiv'd from the immediate hand of that Being, from whom proceedeth every good and perfect gift.

Sir, Suffer me to recall to your mind that time, in which the Arms and tyranny of the British Crown were exerted with every powerful effort in order to reduce you to a State of Servitude, look back I entreat you on the variety of dangers to which you were exposed, reflect on that time in which every human aid appeared unavailable, and in which even hope and fortitude wore the aspect of inability to the conflict, and you cannot but be led to a Serious and grateful sense of your miraculous and providential preservation; you cannot but acknowledge, that the present freedom and tranquillity which you enjoy you have mercifully received, and that it is the peculiar blessing of Heaven.

This Sir, was a time in which you clearly saw into the injustice of a state of Slavery, and in which you had Just apprehensions of the horrors of its condition, it was now Sir, that your abhorrence thereof was so excited, that you publickly held forth this true and invaluable doctrine,

which is worthy to be recorded and remembered in all Succeeding ages. "We hold these truths to be self evident, that all men are created equal, and that they are endowed by their creator with certain unalienable rights, that among these are life, liberty, and the pursuit of happiness."

Here Sir, was a time in which your tender feelings for your Selves had engaged you thus to declare, you were then impressed with proper ideas of the great valuation of liberty, and the free possession of those blessings to which you were entitled by nature; but Sir, how pitiable it is to reflect that altho you were so fully convinced of the benevolence of the Father of mankind, and of his equal and impartial distribution of those rights and privileges which he had conferred upon them, that you should at the same time counteract his mercies, in detaining by fraud and violence so numerous a part of my brethren under groaning captivity and cruel oppression, that you should at the same time be found guilty of that most criminal act which you professedly detested in others, with respect to your Selves.

Sir, I suppose that your knowledge of the Situation of my brethren is too extensive to need a recital here; neither shall I presume to prescribe methods by which they may be relieved, otherwise than by recommending to you and all others, to wean yourselves from those narrow prejudices which you have imbibed with respect to them, and as Job proposed to his friend "Put your Souls in their Souls Stead," thus shall your hearts be enlarged with kindness and benevolence toward them, and thus

shall you need neither the direction of my Self or others in what manner to proceed herein.

And now, Sir, altho my Sympathy and affection for my brethren hath caused my enlargement thus far, I ardently hope that your candour and generosity will plead with you in my behalf, when I make known to you, that it was not orriginall, my design; but that having taken up my pen in order to direct to you as a present a copy of an Almanac which I have calculated for the Succeeding year, I was unexpectedly and unavoidably led thereto.

This calculation Sir, is the production of my arduous Study in this my advanced stage of life; for having long had unbounded desires to become acquainted with the Secrets of nature, I have had to gratify my curiosity herein thro my own assiduous application to Astronomical Study, in which I need not to recount to you the many difficulties and disadvantages which I have had to encounter.

And altho I had almost declined to make my calculation for the ensuing year, in consequence of that time which I had allotted therefore being taken up at the Federal Territory, by the request of Mr. Andrew Ellicott, yet finding my Self underal several engagements to printers of this State to whom I had communicated my design, on my return to my place of residence, I industriously applied my Self thereto, which I hope I have accomplished with correctness and accuracy, a copy of which I have taken the liberty to direct to you, and which I humbly request you will favourably receive, and altho you

and added little about Delano's position for or against the
expansion of West Texas which I have added. There is a reference to the
Constitution, by the request of Mr. Andrew Elmer, who presumes that it is
imperative to provide for the state of Texas. But as far as I can see, we
are agreed to my plan of sending a commission to the United States
to have accomplished with regard to our territory, a copy of which I have
written the Secretary to communicate you and relate. I have the request you will consider
however, and that you may have the opportunity of presenting it before the legislature
and I therefore send it at your convenience. I presume there is no objection
as it might naturally have an adverse impression, but then you might not consider it
over head writing.

Thomas Jefferson
Secretary of State
Philadelphia

It is very common here to make
may be had by a donation to
Mr. Elias Elliott merchant in
Baltimore Town.

All expenses connected with the above letter.

Thank you sincerely, for your kind words of encouragement and for the offer
of assistance, as they would come down to us all much greater if you would offer
your services to our Black Loyalists, who are now in a state of great distress. The
disappearance of a great number of them, owing mainly to the treacherous conduct of their
late officers in command, has left them in a very difficult position, and I hope you will
see your system arranged for removing the remaining lot of us from the Province.
I ought to be, at first, the last to apply for your assistance, but I hope you will
not object to my doing so, which would be consistent with honesty. I have taken the liberty of offering you
one or more of the Black Loyalists, who are now in a state of great
distress, to be removed to Canada, having obtained a sum of money to pay
the passage of each member of the Black Loyalists, thereby because I consider it to be important to let
you, who alone has a right for these people, to determine upon the particular method
for removing them from hence. I am with great thanks to you.

may have the opportunity of perusing it after its publication, yet I chose to send it to you in manuscript previous thereto, that thereby you might not only have an earlier inspection, but that you might also view it in my own handwriting.

And now Sir, I shall conclude and subscribe my self with the most profound respect your most obedient humble Servt

B. BANNEKER.

Thomas Jefferson

Secretary of State

Philadelphia.

N B any communication to me may be had by a direction to Mr. Elias Ellicott merchant in Baltimore Town.

B. B.

Mr. Jefferson's reply was in a kind and magnanimous spirit in every way worthy of that distinguished statesman. He wrote:

Philadelphia Augt. 30: 1791.

SIR:—I thank you sincerely for your letter of the 19th instant and for the Almanac it contained. no body wishes more than I do to see such proofs as you exhibit, that nature has given to our black Brethren, talents equal to those of the other colours of man, and that the appearance of a want of them is owing merely to the degraded condition of their existance both in Africa and America. I can add with truth that no body wishes more ardently to see a good System commenced for raising the condition both of their body and mind to what it ought to be, as fast as the imbecility of their present existence, and other circumstances which cannot be neglected will admit. I have taken the liberty of sending your Almanac

to monsieur de Condorcet, Secretary of the Academy of Sciences at paris, and Member of the Philanthropic Society because I considered it as a document to which your whole colour had a right for their Justification against the doubts which have been entertained of them. I am with great esteem Sir,

Your most obedt. humble Servt.

THO JEFFERSON

MR. BENJAMIN BANNEKER

Near Ellicott's lower mills Baltimore County.

The accompanying illustration is from a photograph of the fac-simile before mentioned, found in the Maryland Land Office, and shows the last part of Banneker's letter, with all of Jefferson's reply—the page being reduced in size, however. In the case of both letters we have only Banneker's chirography—and a very fair hand he wrote—displayed; and this fact is explained at the bottom of the fac-simile in a note, as follows:

"The Letters, from which this fac-simile is taken, are in the hand writing of Banneker, who copied them into the volume of Manuscripts, in which they have been preserved. His house and manuscripts were burnt soon after his decease, except this book which was at a neighbor's at the time."

The reader will thus see that he is several degrees removed from the original correspondence, since the page we have presented to him is a reduced reproduction of a fac-simile from a copy of the originals. We have not been able to ascertain the date of the fac-simile which we examined at Annapolis, although we found another copy of it in the rooms

of the Maryland Historical Society in Baltimore. Nor are we able to say whether the volume still exists, which we are told survived the destruction of Banneker's other papers, and which served as the original of the fac-similes.

This correspondence has a double historical interest, throwing some additional light upon the condition of anti-slavery sentiment about the time of the birth of the nation, and bearing an intrinsic value as an exhibit of the attainments of one negro of that early day. Following this last thought, the writer was curious to examine Banneker's almanac, to which he refers, and was much pleased to discover a copy of the book in the possession of the Maryland Historical Society.

We have transcribed the title-page of the almanac, which sets forth the contents and merits of the book in a somewhat fulsome manner, as shown on page 71.

The second page contains an introductory note or preface from the Editors in which they "flatter themselves that a philanthropic Public, in this enlightened era, will be induced to give their Patronage and Support to this Work, not only on Account of its intrinsic Merit, (it having met the Approbation of several of the most distinguished Astronomers in America, particularly the celebrated Mr. Rittenhouse) but from similar Motives to those which induced the Editors to give this Calculation the Preference, the ardent Desire of drawing modest merit from Obscurity, and controverting the long-established illiberal Prejudice against the Blacks."

The editors conclude with the

statement that "they have taken the Liberty to annex a Letter from Mr. McHenry, containing Particulars respecting Benjamin, which, it is presumed, will prove more acceptable to the Reader, than anything further in the prefatory Way."

Mr. McHenry's interesting letter is as follows:

Baltimore, August 10, 1791.
MESSRS. GODDARD and ANGELL,

Benjamin Banneker, a free Negro, has calculated an Almanack, for the ensuing year, 1792, which being desirous to dispose of, to the best advantage, he has requested me to aid his application to you for that purpose. Having fully satisfied myself, with respect to his title to this kind of authorship, if you can agree with him for the price of his work, I may venture to assure you it will do you credit, as Editors, while it will afford you the opportunity to encourage talents that have thus far surmounted the most discouraging circumstances and prejudices.

This man is about fifty-nine years of age; he was born in *Baltimore County*; his father was an *African*, and his mother the offspring of *African* parents.—His father and mother having obtained their freedom, were enabled to send him to an obscure school, where he learned, when a boy, reading, writing, and arithmetic as far as double position; and to leave him, at their deaths, a few acres of land, upon which he has supported himself ever since by means of economy and constant labour, and preserved a fair reputation. To struggle incessantly against want is no ways favourable to improvement. What he had learned, however, he did not forget;

BENJAMIN BANNEKER'S
PENNSYLVANIA, DELAWARE, MARYLAND
AND VIRGINIA
ALMANAC
AND
EPHEMERIS
FOR THE YEAR OF OUR LORD
1792;

Being BISSEXTILE, or LEAP YEAR, and the Sixteenth Year
of AMERICAN INDEPENDENCE, which commenced
July 4, 1776.

CONTAINING, the Motions of the Sun and Moon, the true Places and Aspects of the Planets, the Rising and Setting of the Sun, and the Rising, Setting and Southing, Place and Age of the Moon, &c.—The Lunations, Conjunctions, Eclipses, Judgment of the Weather, Festivals, and other remarkable Days; Days for Holding the Supreme and Circuit Courts of the *United States*, also the usual Courts in *Pennsylvania, Delaware, Maryland, and Virginia*. Also several useful Tables, and valuable Receipts. Various Selections from the Commonplace-Book of the *Kentucky Philosopher*, an *American Sage*; with interesting and entertaining Essays, in Prose and Verse—the whole comprising a greater, more pleasing, and useful variety, than any Work of the *Kind and Price* in *North America*.

BALTIMORE: Printed and Sold Wholesale and Retail, by William Goddard and James Angell, at their Printing-Office, in *Market Street*.—Sold, also, by Mr. Joseph Crukshank, Printer, in *Market Street*, and Mr. Daniel Humphreys, Printer, in *South Front Street, Philadelphia*—and by Messrs, Hanson and Bond, Printers, in *Alexandria*.

for as some hours of leisure will occur in the most toilsome life, he availed himself of these, not to read and acquire knowledge from writings of genius and discovery, for of such he had none, but to digest and apply, as occasions presented, the few principles of the few rules of arithmetic he had been taught at school. This kind of mental exercise formed his chief amusement, and soon gave him a facility in calculation that was often serviceable to his neighbours, and at length attracted the attention of the Messrs. *Ellicotts*, a family remarkable for their ingenuity and turn to the useful mechanics. It is about three years since Mr. *George Ellicott* lent him *Mayer's Tables*, *Ferguson's Astronomy*, *Leadbeater's Lunar Tables*, and some astronomic intruments, but without accompanying them with either hint or instruction, that might further his studies, or lead him to apply them to any useful result. These books and instruments, the first of the kind he had ever seen, opened a new world to *Benjamin*, and from thence forward he employed his leisure in astronomical researches. He now took up the idea of the calculations for an Almanac, and actually completed an entire set for the last year, upon his original stock of arithmetic. Encouraged by this first attempt, he entered upon his calculation for 1792, which, as well as the former, he began and finished without the least information or assistance, from any person, or other books than those I have mentioned; so that, whatever merit is attached to his present performance, is exclusively and peculiarly his own.

I have been the more careful to investigate those particulars, and to as-

certain their reality, as they form an interesting fact in the History of Man; and as you may want them to gratify curiosity, I have no objection to your selecting them for your account of *Benjamin*.

I consider this Negro as a fresh proof that the powers of the mind are disconnected with the colour of the skin, or, in other words, a striking contradiction to Mr *Hume's* doctrine, that the Negroes are naturally inferior to the whites, and unsusceptible of attainments in arts and sciences. In every civilized country we shall find thousands of whites, liberally educated and who have enjoyed greater opportunities of instruction than this Negro, his inferiors in those intellectual acquirements and capacities that form the most characteristic feature in the human race. But the system that would assign to these degraded blacks an origin different from the whites, if it is not ready to be deserted by philosophers, must be relinquished as similar instances multiply; and that such must frequently happen cannot well be doubted, should no check impede the progress of humanity, which, meliorating the condition of slavery, necessarily leads to its final extinction.—Let, however, the issue be what it will, I cannot but wish, on this occasion, to see the Public patronage keep pace with my black friend's merit.

I am, Gentlemen, your most obedient servant,

JAMES McHENRY.

Like all almanac-makers of that day, *Banneker* undertook to forecast the weather for every day of the year. What system he may have followed, and whether he expected his patrons

to rely upon these prophecies as confidently as upon his mathematical calculations, it is impossible to say. His prognostications for the month of June, 1792, are here transcribed as a sample of those set down for each of the twelve months.

June 1	Sultry	June 16
2	and	17
3	dry,	18 clouds.
4	close	19
5		20 Clear and
6	weather,	21 Warm.
7	followed by	22 Very
8	thunder	23
9	and rain	24
10		25 sultry.
11	Cool	26 Clear
12	breezes	27 and hot
13	with	28 weather.
14	flying	29
15		30 Rain.

Yet notwithstanding this ambitious' but possibly not always successful attempt at prophesy, Benjamin Banneker is shown to have been a remarkable man, accomplishing very much more than his limited opportunities would have seemed to make possible. It would be interesting to know whether the original manuscript of the almanac, which Banneker transmitted to Jefferson, and the latter forwarded across the Atlantic to De Condorcet, still remains in the possession of the French Academy of Sciences, and whether the letter still exists which Jefferson must have sent to Paris in explanation of his curious gift to the Academy.





History in Brief

**Early
Anti-Slavery
Agitators.**

The day has come when all can unite in honoring the memory of those pioneers of the anti-slavery agitation in America, who endured a measure of social ostracism, and often personal indignities, insult and injury in the advocacy of universal liberty. In complete and careful biographies justice has been done to Benjamin Lundy, Myron Holley, Edward Coles, Owen Lovejoy, James G. Birney and Gerrit Smith as well as the greater leaders, Wendell Phillips and William Loyd Garrison. Their eyes were early opened. They had the courage of their convictions. They faced contumely and violence without flinching. They denounced all compromising with wrong, all tolerance of oppression. They demanded natural rights complete, untrammeled; justice, pure and simple, for every human being—and their fame is secure.

But a new name, or rather an overlooked and obscured name, now comes up for recognition. The State of Indiana is honored as the place of his later life and the repository of his ashes. George W. Julian is the discoverer, who before the Indiana Historical Society and in the *International Review* puts forth the name of Charles

Osborn for first honors. The man was an able and active minister of the Society of Friends. He traveled and preached extensively in North Carolina, Tennessee and Ohio before he settled in Indiana. Charles Osborn was born five months after the battle of Lexington. He came from North Carolina to Tennessee when nineteen years of age and began to be known as a preacher of some eminence about the year 1806. Ten years later he removed to Mount Pleasant, Ohio, where, in addition to his ministry, he published for more than a year a weekly newspaper called the *Philanthropist*. The tone of this paper was earnestly moral and religious. War, intemperance, and especially American slavery were leading themes discussed in its columns. The last issue was Oct. 8, 1818, and the entire volume from the first issue is preserved. In the following year and thereafter till his death in 1850, Mr. Osborn made his home in Indiana, though often travelling and preaching elsewhere, even visiting England.

By the accepted histories and manuals, to William Loyd Garrison is accorded the praise of first proclaiming on this side of the Atlantic the doctrine of "immediate and unconditional emancipation." Without at all detracting from the fame of

Garrison, who beyond all question was the great and effective apostle of the doctrine, we may admit an earlier origin and proclamation of it. This particular honor is claimed for Charles Osborn. He is not by any means the only one who preceded Garrison in this teaching, but the evidence points to him as the first—in this line the oldest pioneer of them all. Mr. Garrison's clear enunciation and advocacy of the doctrine of immediate and unconditional emancipation dates from the year 1829. Rev. John Rankin, founder of the Western Tract Society, and also one of the founders and first lecturers of the American Anti-Slavery Society, published in 1824 a series of letters setting forth this principle. In the same year Rev. James Duncan proclaimed it in a book called: "A Treatise on Slavery." In December, 1825, Benjamin Lundy published in his paper, the *Genius of Universal Emancipation*, Elizabeth Heyrick's famous pamphlet, "Immediate, not Gradual Emancipation." The principle was repeatedly taught in Lundy's paper, and even as early as October, 1822, over his own name, or editorially. But before all these, we are to understand, comes Charles Osborn.

Proofs of Charles Osborn's Priority. 1. In the month of December, 1814, Osborn took the lead in organizing the "Tennessee Manumission Society." The aim of this and other early anti-slavery societies in the slave holding States was to exert moral, not political influence. The appeal was to the individual, teaching the sinfulness of slavery and

the duty of a repentance whose genuineness must be shown by works meet for repentance; that is, by immediately and unconditionally freeing one's own slaves. 2. Levi Coffin in his "Reminiscences," page 231, testifies that Osborn publicly advocated immediate and unconditional emancipation when he came to Ohio in 1816. Again in speaking of the offense given by Osborn to his brethren of the Society of Friends in 1841, Mr. Coffin says: "He preached no new doctrine, had experienced no change, but followed the same course and advocated the same anti-slavery doctrine he had for forty years." 3. In a printed document published in 1843, reviewing the Osborn case, and signed by Mr. Coffin with five other prominent and thoroughly reliable Friends, a similar statement to the above is made. In 1852 a memorial of Charles Osborn's life adopted by the Society of Anti-Slavery Friends, also submitted to the monthly, then to the quarterly meeting, and lastly to the annual "meeting for sufferings," examined and approved by all these bodies, declares of Osborn's leadership in the formation of manumission societies in 1814 that, "in endeavoring to lay the foundation principle of these societies, he, at that early day, advocated and maintained the only true and Christian ground—immediate and unconditional emancipation. 4, and last: As to the question whether Mr. Osborn edited and published the first anti-slavery paper in the United States, the product itself is in evidence, bound volumes of the paper being still preserved. The first number of the *Philanthropist* was issued

on August 29, 1817. The series treats the subject of Slavery more than eighty times, nearly an average of twice to each weekly number. The paper not only denounced slavery by every moral and religious consideration but went so far as to advise the disuse of slave-grown products. It also opposed the colonization schemes as impracticable and a hindrance instead of a help to the anti-slavery cause. Benjamin Lundy was a contributor. He began to publish his own paper, *The Genius of Universal Emancipation* in January, 1821, three and a half years after the first issue of the *Philanthropist*.

To those only familiar with the intolerant and inflammable spirit of the South in ante-bellum days it will be a surprise to learn that such was far from being the state in the earlier part of the century. Rev. John Rankin states that when he was a young man, a majority of the people of east Tennessee were abolitionists. Between the years 1817 and 1824 he preached boldly in Kentucky to large congregations the duty of immediate emancipation, and this as it would appear without molestation or serious offense. In 1826 the American Convention for the Abolition of Slavery was held in Baltimore. Of the eighty-one societies represented, seventy-one were in slave States.¹

As remarkable as it may seem, yet of the one hundred and thirty abolition societies in the United States in 1827 one hundred and six of them were in slave-holding States. Only

four were in New England and New York, while Virginia had eight, Maryland eleven, Delaware and District of Columbia each two, Kentucky eight, Tennessee twenty-five and North Carolina fifty.² Whence it appears that at this time in these border States the matter could be seriously and dispassionately discussed. After the Southampton Insurrection of Nat. Turner in Virginia in 1831, under the apprehension of other risings and by the inflammatory efforts of politicians, the southern heart was fired and the reign of terror instituted which continued up to and culminated in the Civil War.

The Society of Friends almost alone among religious bodies has been credited both in the United States and abroad with being, from first to last, the consistent and uncompromising opponents of human slavery. It will therefore be a surprise to many to learn of any defection or that any portion of this body ever fell into subserviency to the pervasive and dominating influence of the slave-power. Let it be premised that "the meeting for sufferings" is a delegated body, like a committee, appointed to act in the interval between sessions of the Yearly Meeting. In 1841 the Indiana Yearly Meeting sanctioned a letter of advice issued by the "meeting for sufferings" to their monthly and quarterly meetings, forbidding the use of meeting-houses for anti-slavery lectures, and also forbidding the members to join in anti-slavery organizations "with those who do not profess

¹ See Wilson's *Rise and Fall of the Slave Power*, page 270.

² See Poole's *Anti-Slavery Opinions before 1800*, page 72.

to wait for Divine direction in such important concerns." The meeting also advised members against issuing anti-slavery publications without first submitting them to "the examination of a meeting for sufferings." This was unauthorized by their discipline and opposed to all custom and precedent. Charles Osborn and seven others, refusing obedience to this arbitrary mandate and bond upon conscience, were summarily dismissed from the body (the Yearly Meeting of 1842) as "disqualified;" and even the request, that in simple justice the reason of this action should be spread upon the minutes, was disregarded. This same meeting gave Henry Clay, the owner of fifty slaves, a seat among the ruling elders. So much did they cringe in their effort, as expressed by the meeting for sufferings of 1841, to "retain the place and influence heretofore had with the rulers of our land."

During this defection of the body, so pronounced in Indiana, but by no means confined to that State, doubtless many of the rank and file were staunch anti-slavery men, but the leaders, smitten with the itch of popularity, came to believe in colonization and gradual emancipation, and took pains to assure legislatures, slave-holders, and the public that they had nothing to do with abolitionism. Afterward in the march of events their eyes were opened and they came to glory in the principles and name which they had previously condemned. But we regret to add that they never had the grace to do full official justice to those whom for conscience' sake they had persecuted.

The Wife
of
Columbus.

We are all just now naturally in an inquisitive state of mind regarding Columbus. And why should we not be curious about his wife? He himself is rather sparing in his mention of this lady. He gives no name at all, but in his will directs that masses shall be provided for her soul. This was very thoughtful, especially when we consider that there is some ground to believe that he failed to provide bread for her bodily sustenance, and ran away from wife and children to Spain to escape his debtors. The confession that he did so is the only other mention of a wife which he makes in his own writings. His son Diego in his last testament, in 1509, finally furnishes us with a name: Philippa Moniz, or Munnis. This name was added to, by the biographer of the Admiral, his son Fernando, the issue of an illicit connection with another lady, but recognized as his legal heir. The additional name was Perestrello. Now if the wife of Columbus was really entitled to this full name Filipa Moniz de Perestrello, we can begin to have some little history about her; we shall even be enabled to convince ourselves of the pleasing fact that it was greatly owing to her inspiration and stimulus and also that of her mother, that Columbus was induced to cherish not only the spirit of discovery, but just that kind of discovery which led to his immortal fame. In short, we shall establish the triumphant truism, that in the greatest event of modern times, *there was a woman at the bottom of it*, as in all other haps and mishaps of this mundane existence. While then the

historical critics may hesitate still a little about Philippa, let us accept her and see what there is of her story.

She was the daughter of Bartolomeo de Perestrello, whose ancestors, of a noble Italian family, had migrated to Portugal, and taken an active part in Portuguese explorations. One of these forefathers had assisted in Colonizing the islands of Porto Santo and Madeira. Bartolomeo was governor of Porto Santo; hither he brought his wife, Isabella Moniz, and here sons and daughters were born to him. Of the daughters Philippa was his favorite, developing an ardent love of the sea, and frequently accompanying him on his voyages back and forth to Lisbon. But he died while she was still a young lady: her mother then removed to Lisbon, and placed the vivacious and adventurous Philippa in the convent of All Saints, to be educated, perhaps to become a nun herself. But alas! for the latter purpose a handsome, tall, intelligent, every way winsome youth, was accustomed to come every day and worship in the Chapel of this Convent. Eyes would wander at worship then as now, the eyes of this maiden and this youth, wandering at random about this chapel, met one day, and the fate of the twain was sealed. They loved and won each other: historians coldly inform us that Philippa herself took a hand in the winning, giving the young man unmistakable signs of favor and preference. The match was very agreeable to the widowed mother: so much so that Columbus shared her home. Afterwards they went to live at Porto Santo. Meanwhile mother Isabella and wife Philip-

pa kept talking about interesting nautical occurrences at the islands: they showed Columbus also several charts and maps and other curiosities collected by Bartolomeo de Perestrello. Winsor's peculiar book on "Columbus," besides belittling this great navigator, purports to show "how he received and imparted the spirit of discovery." We have no doubt he received a good deal of it from the talk and the enthusiasm of these good women. All honor then to them and, amid our celebrations of the Discovery let us not forget the wife of Christopher Columbus, whatever we may do about his mother-in-law.

* * *

Major The interesting
Theodore article of Prof. Weeks
Winthrop. in this number, telling
 the story of
Wyatt, the first Confederate soldier killed in battle, forcibly calls to mind the similar case on the Union side, of Major Theodore Winthrop, to which Prof. Weeks refers, who fell at the same battle of Bethel, and curiously enough, while leading the opposition to the very charge in which Wyatt lost his life.

With the exception of the unfortunate Capt. Ellsworth of the New York Zouaves, shot down at Alexandria, Major Winthrop was the first officer of any note to give his life in the Federal cause, and his death was the occasion for lamentation throughout the North.

Winthrop was a direct descendant of John Winthrop, first governor of Connecticut. He was closely connected with Yale College. He was born in New Haven, September 22, 1828, and graduated from the College

in 1848; while six of his ancestors, on his mother's side, were Presidents of Yale. The great-grand-father of his mother, was the renowned Jonathan Edwards. Winthrop was buried at New Haven with military honors, and the remembrance of the impressive burial scene is still vivid in the writer's mind, who was, at the time, a student at Yale. The college men marched behind the dead hero's body, a sorrowing and yet admiring escort, to his grave in the cemetery at Tutor's Lane.

The story of Winthrop's life was beautifully pictured in a single sentence by George William Curtis, soon after the battle of Bethel,¹ "Theodore Winthrop's life," he wrote, "like a fire long smouldering, suddenly blazed up into a clear, bright flame and vanished." Winthrop had traveled much, frequently "roughing it," and constantly scribbling; yet scarcely any of his writings saw the light before his death. Said Mr. Curtis in the "*Atlantic Monthly*" for August, '61:

"He had always been writing. In college and upon his travels he kept diaries; and he has left behind him several novels, tales, sketches of travel, and journals. The first published writing of his which is well known is his description, in the June number of this Magazine, of the March of the Seventh Regiment of New York to Washington. It was charming by its sparkling, crisp, off-hand dash and ease. But it is only the practiced hand that can 'dash off' effectively. Let any other clever member of the clever regiment, who

has never written, try to dash off the story of a day or a week in the life of the regiment, and he will see that the writer did that little thing well because he had done large things carefully."

The fresh, unique and interesting novels and stories—"John Brent," "Cecil Dreeme," "Canoe and Saddle," and others, some unfinished—all of which Winthrop left in manuscript, are too well known to be described here. Their excellence and the promise they gave for riper years inspire constant regret in the reader that their author should have been cut off so early in life; yet just such a fate was what the young man coveted and had sung about. In the opening chapter of "John Brent" he said: "Deeds of the heroic and chivalric times do not utterly disdain our day. There are men as ready to gallop for love and strike for love now, as in the age of Amadis."

And again, in a most remarkably prophetic vein, he once wrote:

Let me not waste in skirmishing my power,
In petty struggles. Rather in the hour
Of deadly conflict may I nobly die,
In my first battle perish gloriously.

Touching the nation and the impending war also, Winthrop uttered a remarkable prophecy shortly before his death. Concerning the opinion of others he wrote: "I find that the men best informed about the South do not anticipate much severe fighting." This was, indeed, the universal opinion, but Winthrop's own sentiments he had already expressed in a letter written to Mr. Curtis from Washington. "I see no present end of this business," he declared. "We

¹ The "*Atlantic Monthly*," August, 1861.

must conquer the South. Afterward we must be prepared to do its police in its own behalf, and in behalf of its black population, whom this war must, without precipitation, emancipate."¹ In these few sentences we have a wonderful statement of all that subsequently transpired—a long war, conquest of the South, emancipation, and reconstruction. He even seemed to foresee Lincoln's deliberate, careful policy, when he said, "this war must, without precipitation, emancipate."

Winthrop settled his own part in all this as follows: "Now I wish to enroll myself at once in the Police of the Nation, and for life, if the nation will take me." It was, indeed, "for life," and the Nation accepted the sacrifice.

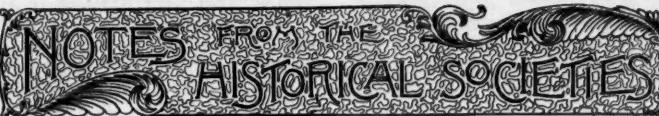
* * *

Modern Roads.

It is pretty generally understood that a World's Exposition in spite of its name, is not meant for mere show. It should have some good, practical, permanent effects upon the "world" that exhibits, and especially upon the country where the "show" is held. We can hardly exaggerate the benefit our Columbian Fair would prove to our Republic, if it should result in a universal determination to secure everywhere throughout the rural districts—*good roads!* Good country-roads are a distinguishing feature of Europe noticed at once even from the flying trains, by obser-

vant tourists. In England and Germany we find the Macadamized road. In Holland even where rocks do not abound, the people, determined to have decent roads, actually pave their roads from city to city, from province to province, *all over the land*—with a peculiar kind of bricks, very hard and set on end. Besides this, these splendid thoroughfares are lined with shade trees, at short intervals, so that one may ride on a perpetual shady street from one end of the land to the other—a veritable paradise for wheelmen. It is said that the genius of Napoleon I. is to be credited with this feature of civilization in Europe. And why should not we possess this essential of civilization? True, military aims may lie at the bottom of this thing in Europe. But the purposes of peace are served just as much by good roads: it is a real hindrance to the advancement of ever so many useful and profitable things in our country, to possess the disgraceful apologies for thoroughfares or highways which are so prevalent. It would be desirable in the coming Fair, to devote a special building for such an exhibit, as has been urged in a memorial to Congress. But this is not enough: the importance of the subject demands a distinct and separate exhibit, and the bill proposing that \$100,000 be expended for a suitable building, would seem to be peculiarly deserving of approval by our *National congress.*

¹ This singular prophecy was written early in the summer of 1861 and was even published in August of that year in Mr. Curtis' article.



NOTES FROM THE HISTORICAL SOCIETIES

The Kansas Historical Society has accepted the invitation of the State Board of Managers of the World's Columbian Exposition to make an exhibit from its collections, and to take charge of the historical exhibit in the Kansas building. The reading room in the building has been assigned for this purpose. The people of the State will be asked to co-operate with the society and with the board of managers in the endeavor to make this feature of the Kansas exhibit an attractive one—one worthy of the State which has occupied so large a place in history. Pictures, historical papers, Kansas books, aboriginal relics, and all relics illustrative of Kansas history and life and customs in the past, will be included in the exhibition.

The Society has received from Colonel R. J. Hinton, Washington, D. C., a package of historical papers relating to early Kansas and the War of the Rebellion. Among them is a copy of the "Western Dispatch" (extra), Independence, Mo., September 3, 1856, warning the people of western Missouri from impending danger of an invasion of "3,000 lawless abolitionists" from Kansas, under the lead of the notorious Jim Lane.

The New Hampshire Historical Society (Portsmouth) held its annual field day at Plymouth, October 13.

The programme included a carriage drive about the town, visits to Livermore Falls, Holderness School for Boys, ancient Episcopal church in Holderness and the State fish hatching house. A business meeting and literary exercises followed. The subject discussed was The Early Pioneers of the Pemigasset Valley.

The library has received a very valuable addition in a bound volume of the "New Hampshire Gazette and Chronicle," printed before and during the revolution. The papers are in a good state of preservation and are filled with history, containing reports of the doings of the Continental congress, accounts of battles, English news and other matters of great historical value. The volume is one of two that were stolen from the files of the paper by a retiring owner. The paper was sold and the incoming purchaser found his files complete with the exception of two volumes. He in turn sold the paper with the incomplete set, and this proves to be one of the missing numbers. The other has not yet been found.

At the October meeting of the Bostonian Society, in the Old State House, (Boston, Mass.), a feature of the exercises was an historical address by Judge Mellen Chamberlain who gave a most interesting account

of James Otis and the writs of assistance, argued before the superior court sitting in the council chamber for the February term, 1761. All through the period from 1660 to 1760 smuggling had been a common affair, engaged in by merchants of the highest character, and thought to be in every respect a reputable business. Some of the largest Boston fortunes were built up in this way. This state of facts rendered necessary legal proceedings. An ordinary search warrant is granted only in open court with a specification of the goods and the particular place where they are supposed to be located or concealed.

What was needed, then, for the effective execution of the revenue laws was a general warrant authorizing its holder to search any place, break open apartments where goods were supposed to be concealed. This general warrant, belonging to that class of warrants which created so great a commotion in Wilkes' time, was called a writ of assistance, and it was in opposition to the granting of this formidable writ that James Otis made his memorable argument, which was the first real serious attack against the English imperial system. Departing from the strict requirements of his cause, Otis reviewed the colonial policy of all nations, especially that of Great Britain, and showed how disastrously this attempt at its enforcement by writ of assistance, would affect colonial prosperity. This was nearly three years before Patrick Henry, in arguing the famous Parsons cause, by a similar line of argument, prepared the Virginia mind to that open resistance which simultaneously broke out against the

stamp act in 1765, both in northern and southern colonies.

John Adams, who was present at the hearing as a newly admitted member of the bar, took notes of Otis' arguments, which he afterwards expanded into the fullest account we have of it. "In this chamber," wrote Adams, "near the fire, were seated five judges, with Lieut.-Gov. Hutchinson at their head, as chief-justice; all in their new fresh robes of scarlet English cloth, in their broad bands and immense judicial wigs. In this chamber were seated at a long table all the barristers of Boston and its neighboring county of Middlesex, in their gowns, bands, and tye-wigs.

"Two portraits, at more than full length, of King Charles II. and King James II., in splendid gilded frames were hung on the most conspicuous side of the apartment. . . . They had been sent over without frames in Gov. Pownal's time. But as he was no admirer of the Charleses or Jameses, they were stowed away in a garret among rubbish till Gov. Bernard came, had them cleaned, superbly framed, and placed in council for the admiration and imitation of all men."

"This description," said Judge Chamberlain, "is remarkable for an old man of 83, and reminds us of that by Macaulay at 40, in the prime of his splendid imagination, of the trial of Warren Hastings. Though Otis was immediately unsuccessful, his argument was bruited throughout the continent, and was not among the least of those influences which brought on the American revolution." John Adams said of it that independence was born in that very council chamber.

At a meeting of the Rhode Island Historical Society, Oct. 16th, Augustine D. Jones, LL. D., read an able and carefully prepared paper on the life of Moses Brown.

In all that group of sterling, famous men, who were the colleagues of Roger Williams, not one was more upright, able and spotless than the Rev. Chad. Brown. And the descendants of that man have had greater influence on the city of Providence, than the offspring of any other man. Moses Brown was born in or near Providence, Sept. 23, 1738, and lived there until his death, Sept. 6, 1836, almost 98 years.

The lecture committee reported as to the course for the remainder of the year as follows: Nov. 1, Prof. W. S. Munroe, "Some Leaves from the Maritime History of Bristol;" Nov. 29, Rev. Dr. Langdon, "A Recent Movement in the Catholic Church;" Dec. 13, Henry C. Dorr, "History of Providence;" Dec. 27, S. S. Bucklin, "American Literature."

The second annual meeting of the Washington State Historical Society was held at Tacoma Sept. 29th. Elwood Evans, President, and Charles W. Hobart, Secretary, were re-elected to these offices. The first year of the existence of the organization has been rounded out. It was organized with twenty-two members and

during the past twelve months one hundred and eleven new members have been enrolled. The object and work of the society have been well regarded throughout the State. Soon after the organization of the society, the secretary sent literature relating to it to historical societies in all the States and those in Canada and Europe. During the year the secretary has sent out nearly 4,000 letters, circulars and pamphlets, so as to make the people familiar with the purposes of the society. The society is already as well known in every other State in the Union, in every province of Canada and in several localities in Europe as any similar society in the United States.

The first special meeting was held on Washington's birthday; Elwood Evans, the President, read an interesting paper in regard to the Columbia River. Secretary of State, Allen Weir, read a paper at the March meeting entitled "Roughing It on Puget Sound in the Early Sixties." Edward Huggins also read a paper at that meeting giving an account of the attack on Fort Nesqually by the Indians in 1849. Papers on "Another View of the San Juan Island Imbroglio" and "The Early Organization of the Territory of Washington" were prepared by Granville O. Holden, of Seattle, and A. A. Denny of the same city, respectively.



THE NATIONAL KANSAS COMMITTEE,

AND HON. HARVEY B. HURD.

ALTHOUGH volumes have been written of the memorable struggle which immediately preceded the organization of Kansas into one of the states of the Union, much yet remains to be written of the agencies that operated to make the state "free territory," before the history of that conflict shall be complete.

An important, and in the main unwritten chapter of this history is the history of the "Kansas National Committee," which came into existence in 1856, and lived long enough to see the momentous question, as to whether Kansas was to be a "free" or "slave" state satisfactorily disposed of. The National Committee was the outgrowth of a local organization, and a citizen of Chicago, Illinois, was author of the idea. At that time Chicago was just beginning to be looked upon as the gateway to the great western country beyond it, and hence it happened that hundreds of the emigrants bound for Kansas in "the fifties" passed through the city; and when some of these same emigrants and many others were driven out of Kansas by the "border ruffians," they found their way back to Chicago, to give an account of what they had passed through. Some of them needed material assistance, and all were objects of solicitude to those who were in sympathy with the effort to prevent the extension of slavery into Kansas, and so it came about that a local committee, known as the

"Kansas Committee," was organized for the purpose of extending aid, in a systematic way, to the Kansas colonists. As soon as the organization of the committee was completed, attention was turned to forwarding to Kansas such persons desirous of going there, as were willing to pledge themselves to oppose the introduction of slavery into the territory. Under its auspices the first company of emigrants, that went overland to Kansas through Iowa, was fitted out, and not long after this, Mr. H. B. Hurd of Chicago, one of the members of the local committee came forward with a proposition to organize a "National Kansas Committee," which should in a general way control and direct the movement of emigrants to the prospective state. This proposition being laid before the leaders of the Anti-Slavery movement in the Eastern states was cordially endorsed and fully approved, and a convention was first called to meet at Cleveland, Ohio, to consider this and other important matters. Nothing was done at the Cleveland convention, but at the Buffalo convention, held later the same year, the National Kansas Committee became one of the recognized agencies of the Anti-Slavery party.

It was organized with Thadeus Hyatt of New York as Chairman, Captain (afterward General) Joseph D. Webster of Chicago, Vice Chairman, and with Harvey B. Hurd and George W. Dole, both of Chicago, as

Secretary and Treasurer respectively. Each state had its representative on the committee, and in the Northern states, state central committees were made auxilliary to it. There were many distinguished names in the list of members of this committee, and among others was that of Abraham Lincoln, who was one of the representatives from Illinois.

Owing to its geographical location, Chicago was selected as the committee's headquarters, and Captain Joseph D. Webster, Harvey B. Hurd and George W. Dole were constituted an executive committee to take charge of the active work of the organization. To this work all three of these gentlemen devoted a large portion of their time. The funds of the committee, which were collected from all sources, were disbursed under their direction, and were largely used in fitting out companies of emigrants, the committee usually taking charge of these emigrants in Chicago, and forwarding them to Mt. Pleasant, Iowa, where they were regularly organized and fully equipped for the long and perilous journey overland, through Iowa and Nebraska to Kansas. The overland route was established because of the interference with travel on the Missouri River by the "border ruffians," who stopped and turned back all emigrants who undertook to enter Kansas by that route.

Mt. Pleasant, Iowa, was at that time the farthest west of any point of consequence on the route, to which the emigrants could be sent by rail, and an agent of the committee was for this reason stationed there to supply transportation and to give all the assistance necessary to the "free soil" set-

tlers. It was the business of this agent usually to furnish horses, wagons, provisions etc., for the journey, and to see that the emigrants were organized into companies and placed in charge of competent leaders, who were generally chosen by the emigrants themselves. Now and then the committee itself commissioned as captain of a company, some one whom its members deemed specially well qualified for leadership, among others who were thus honored being Thomas Wentworth Higginson, James Redpath and Richard Ralph, the first two famous all over the United States as anti-slavery agitators and authors, and the last named a poetic genius well known throughout the west for many years.

In the spring of 1857, the committee arranged through certain northern railway companies and Missouri River steam boat lines to ticket emigrants to Lexington, Missouri, from which point they were transported by river steamers to Leavenworth Kansas. This was a most important investment, as many thousands of free state settlers, fully armed and prepared to protect themselves, were by this means thrown into Kansas in the months of February and March of that year, and these acquisitions to the number of "free soilers" settled the controversy and made the state "free territory." Agents of the committee continued to look after the settlers after they were located, and to contribute to their support until they became self-sustaining.

During the early months of this year (1857) the committee sent to these settlers, one-hundred tons of seeds of various kinds, thus enabling

them to begin farming operations and to remain on the lands which they had occupied, whereas if this provision had not been made for them, they would have been compelled to abandon the country, raiding parties of "border ruffians" having destroyed practically everything in the way of grain and rendered it impossible for them to obtain seed in Kansas. In this connection it may be said, that the discretion exercised by the Chicago committee probably kept the national organization from becoming in a large measure, responsible for the ill advised movements of John Brown of Ossawatomie. At a meeting of the committee, held at the Astor House in New York, early in 1857, Brown applied for money and arms to organize and equip a force in Kansas, ostensibly for the purpose of repelling invasion from Missouri. There were members of the committee however, who feared that Brown's purpose was to invade slave territory, and Mr. Hurd of Chicago suggested that he should be called before the committee and asked to pledge himself not to do this.

Brown was accordingly brought in and made a profound impression by his manner and speech. When questioned concerning his purposes, his answer was in substance: "Gentlemen, you know me and you know what I have been doing. As to what I intend doing, I must say to you that only one man, beside myself, knows anything of my plans, and I must decline to give you any information concerning them. If you see fit to give me what I ask for, I shall be greatly obliged to you. If you do not, you are responsible for your own actions, and I can find no

fault with you. I can make no pledges, however, as to any future course of action."

Notwithstanding the misgivings of its more conservative members, Brown carried the committee with him, and aid was voted to the extent of two hundred stand of arms and five thousand dollars in money. The arms were turned over to him shortly afterward, but the executive committee in Chicago having been authorized to supply Kansas settlers with grain for seeding purposes, took the view that this was a matter of greater importance than Brown's movement, and made use of all the available funds for this purpose.

The chief executive officer of the committee in Chicago, during the years that it exercised an important influence in shaping the government of what is now one of the great states of the Union, was Hon. Harvey B. Hurd, still a prominent citizen of Chicago, and probably the only member of the executive committee of the National Kansas Committee now living. Mr. Hurd is a native of New England, a man of positive character and convictions, and he espoused with ardor the anti-slavery cause in his young manhood, to remain actively identified with the abolition movement until slavery passed out of existence.

The son of Alanson Hurd, a New England farmer, he was born in Huntington, Fairfield County, Connecticut, February 14th, 1828, and until he was fifteen years of age he divided his time between the farm and the country school. He then left home, and walking one day into the town of Bridgeport, sought employment at the

office of the "Bridgeport Standard," one of the noted old Whig newspapers of Connecticut. He was taken into the "Standard" office and remained there something like two years, when with a party of ten other young men he emigrated to Illinois. Arrived in the Prairie State he embraced an opportunity which presented itself, to enter Jubilee College in Peoria County then presided over by Rev. Samuel Chase. At the end of a year in college, he found it necessary to go to work again, and he accordingly sought employment in the town of Peoria. Disappointed in this, he made his way under some difficulties to Chicago, landing here with only a half dollar in his pocket. Here he obtained employment, first on the "Chicago Evening Journal," and later on the "Prairie Farmer." While earning a livelihood in this way, he kept up the work of self-education, and in 1847 began the study of law. In 1848 he was admitted to the bar and began practising in Chicago, to become recognized in a comparatively short time as an able lawyer and an especially safe counselor and adviser. Becoming interested in realty transactions of considerable magnitude, he laid the foundation of a handsome fortune, as one of the founders of what is now the City of Evanston, the seat of the famous Northwestern University.

He has always been active in advancing the interests of the university, and since 1862 has been connected with the law department, as lecturer and professor, being at the present time "Professor of Pleading, Practice and Statutory Law."

In 1868 he practically retired from the active practice of law, and in 1869

he was appointed by Governor (now United States Senator) John M. Palmer, member of a commission to revise and codify the laws of Illinois. Mr. Hurd's colleagues on the commission left the work to be done almost entirely in his hands, and after a vast amount of careful and painstaking labor it was completed in 1874. The Twenty-eighth General Assembly of Illinois, then designated him to edit and supervise the publication of the work, and in this way Hurd's Revised Statutes of Illinois, so familiar to, and of such inestimable value to all Illinois lawyers, were given to the public. Nine editions of this work have since been edited and prepared for publication by Mr. Hurd.

In 1875 the Republican party of Illinois recognized his eminent ability as a lawyer and judge of law, by nominating him for Judge of the Supreme Court, but through the adverse influences of certain corporations, which had been offended by some of his acts as codifying commissioner, he was defeated.

He was originator of the financial plan under which is being constructed the great drainage canal—which is to constitute at the same time an outlet for Chicago sewage and a water way between Lake Michigan and the Mississippi River—and drew up the first bill introduced into the legislature of Illinois, making provision for inaugurating this important enterprise. The agitation resulting from the introduction of this bill, led to the appointment of a commission to take the matter under advisement, and this commission reported back to the legislature substantially the same measure drawn up by Mr. Hurd,

which became a law, Mr. Hurd being active in procuring its passage through the legislature and its adoption by the people.

Since his career closed as an anti-slavery agitator and ardent unionist during the war period, he has taken a less active interest in political affairs than he did prior to that time, but he has nevertheless continued to be a

conspicuous citizen of the city and state, with which he became identified so early in their history. He is at present chairman of the commission designated by the late general Assembly to report whether a better system of land transfers cannot be adopted in Illinois, and especially to consider the Torren's system of registration of titles.

HOWARD LOUIS CONARD.

DEVELOPMENT OF THE WEST.

COL. ARCHIE C. FISK.

WHEN a blade has been thoroughly tested, and is found to possess a keen and serviceable edge, nothing is more natural, than to turn and read upon it the stamp that tells where and by whom it was fashioned. So, when we hear or read of a man who has achieved much, we naturally wish to know something of his origin, character and the secret of his success.

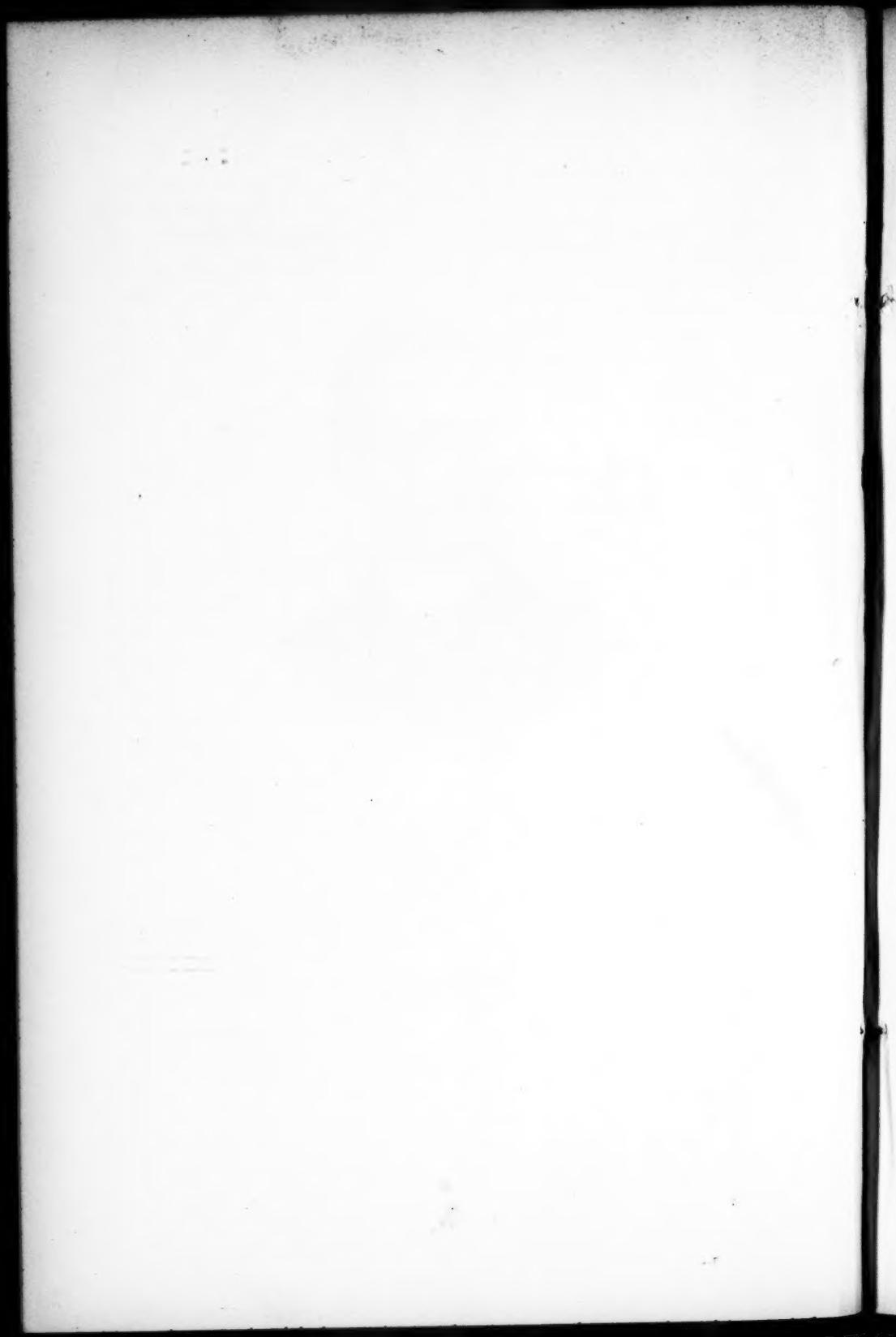
Col. Archie C. Fisk was born in Steuben County New York, October 18, 1836, but two years after, his father located in Lorain County Ohio. Here he grew to manhood spending his early years, like the poet Burns, on a farm. He is therefore, a New Yorker by birth, but of western development, and trained in Western habits of thoughts, sentiment and action. He worked on a farm and attended the Public Schools of Elyria, until he was seventeen years of age. He then entered a dry-goods store as clerk, where he remained until the breaking out of the Rebellion, when he immediately raised a company which was mustered as Company K,

23, Regiment Ohio Infantry Volunteers. He was chosen as Second Lieutenant of that company and Commissioned to date from June 1, '61. He remained with his regiment in Camp Chase, near Columbus Ohio, where it was drilled and disciplined, until July 25, when it was ordered to West Virginia under General Rosencrantz.

The 23, Ohio, was one of the most noted regiments of the war, because of the great number of distinguished warriors and statesmen who filled its ranks. To that regiment belonged General Rosencrantz, Justice Stanley Matthews, President R. B. Hayes, William McKinley, Gen. R. P. Kennedy, Lieut. Governor W. C. Lyon, General Russell Hastings, General E. P. Scammon, General Jas. M. Comley, Col. C. W. Fisher and many other men of local and national repute. The company engaged in its first battle at Carnifax Ferry, West Virginia. At the beginning of the campaign, Col. Fisk was selected by General Rosencrantz as one of his



A.C. Fisk



staff officers. Early in the spring of 1862, he was appointed Assistant Commissary of Subsistence for the District of Kanawha. How he performed the duties of that office a single instance will suffice. General J. D. Cox, the commanding General, had sustained a repulse by the Confederates under General Humphrey Marshall, and communication between the Commissary of Subsistence and the army was severed—but grasping the situation, the young Commissary dispatched under proper escort a train load of provisions to the army in the front and upon its arrival received the following telegram:

"Headquarters District of the Kanawha,

Flat Top Mountain, May 19, 1862
To Lieut. A. C. FISK, A. C. S.

The General commanding directs me to say to you that at times like these, when the movements of the army have been retarded by the neglect of quartermasters and commissaries, he is gratified to find in you one well up to the mark—and to thank you for the promptness and ability you have shown: to which allow me personally to add my own thanks for the services you have rendered me in the emergency of the past few days.

IRA B. GIBBS, CAPT. & C. S."

He not only participated in the battles of West Virginia but was at Second Bull Run, South Mountain and Antietam. In December 1862, he was assigned to the staff of General Hugh Ewing and joined General W. T. Sherman's command in January 1863. He was appointed Assistant Adjutant General, ordered to report to General A. J. Lightburn and participated in all the operations

of the armies around Vicksburg. He accompanied General Sherman who, with a portion of Grant's army together with the navy under Admiral Porter, was seeking a lodgement in the rear of Vicksburg by way of Black Bayou, Deer Creek and the Sunflower and was the bearer of important dispatches from Admiral Porter and General Sherman to General Grant. While on this dangerous mission, he passed down Black Bayou in a skiff to the nearest point on the Mississippi and after conveying the boat overland, they launched it on the Great Father of Waters, and continued their perilous journey until they arrived at Young's Point. He reported to Grant, who gave him a tug to convey him back. He was in the assault of the 19, and 22, of May 1863, at Vicksburg and was honorably mentioned by his commanding Generals for his gallantry and efficient services. He was with Sherman on the Jackson campaign in pursuit of General Johnson and also at Collierville and on the march to Chattanooga. He was Assistant Adjutant General of the Second Division of the 15, Army Corps, at the battle of Missionary Ridge, and went with that division to the relief of Burnside at Knoxville. He participated in the Georgia campaign and in all the engagements in which his division took part until the middle of November 1864, and was conspicuous in the battles of July 22, and 28, before Atlanta. It has been said that there was more individual daring displayed in those two battles than in any other two in which that army participated. Col. Fisk, in a public address speaking of this battle of the 22, says:

I was attached to the 2, Division 15, Corps, with the left resting on the railroad. General Morgan L. Smith and General Lightburn had established their headquarters just in the rear of battery A, posted immediately north of the railroad. Shortly after twelve o'clock, General McPherson with a portion of his staff, passed along our line, stopping a few moments to give General Smith some directions and telling him that he might expect an attack at any moment. This was the last time we saw General McPherson alive. The attack at this time, which had commenced on the left, had reached our front and during the fiercest of the day's bloody struggle, the body of General McPherson passed immediately in our rear, in an ambulance, on the way to the Howard House, Sherman's headquarters. Our lines faced almost due west, looking towards Atlanta, with a gradual slope towards the enemy. Where our lines crossed the railroad, there was a cut some twelve or fifteen feet in depth. The enemy pushed forward with great bravery and determination, and in front of our infantry were repulsed with terrible slaughter. The horses of the battery between the railroad and the wagon road, were all killed and most of the men.

About the middle of November 1864, Col. Fisk was ordered to proceed to Vicksburg to assume the duties of Adjutant General of that Military District. He was appointed commissioner for the exchange of prisoners, and succeeded in releasing from Andersonville, Georgia, and Cahaba, Alabama, more than eight thousand captives. The prisoners were taken to Camp Fisk, named in his honor, and located about four miles to the rear of Vicksburg. Col. Fisk was the only person on the part of our government to secure relief for the famishing and suffering captives, who had been inmured within the walls of Southern prisons. Through his efforts, a cartel was agreed upon between himself as commissioner for the U. S. Govern-

ment and Col. N. G. Watts and Howard A. M. Henderson, the agent of the Confederate Government, whereby the prisoners from Andersonville, Libbey and other places, were to be transferred to Camp Fisk, to remain until exchanged.

At the final surrender, Col. Fisk signed the paroles of and furnished transportation to their homes of seventy-five thousand Confederate soldiers from the armies of Generals Dick Taylor, N. B. Forest and Wirt Adams. The people of Vicksburg saw that Col. Fisk was a just and faithful officer and treated him with marked courtesy and because of their kindness probably, as much as anything else, he was induced to locate at Vicksburg after the close of the war.

Such was the record of the soldier, and we now turn to the citizen. Macauley boasts of the superior discipline of the British soldiers under Cromwell, and says when their campaigns were ended, they returned to their former callings without a jar or discord. But a greater than Cromwell's army was ours. A single blast of the trumpet evoked it into existence, and after its work was accomplished, it suddenly disappears and quickly commingles with the people and communities whence it came.

Locating at Vicksburg, Col. Fisk began at once to display in civil life, the faculty for projecting and executing, that had characterized him as a soldier. He engaged actively in mercantile and manufacturing pursuits. He built a large gin, constructed the first cotton-seed oil-mill that was erected in Mississippi, and was also an extensive planter. He took a prominent part in the work of

reconstruction, and was the proprietor and editor of the *Republican*, the first Republican paper published in the State. Subsequently he purchased the *Times*, the most bitter and partisan Democratic paper in the south and changed its politics to Republican. In 1868 he was a delegate to the convention which nominated Gen. Grant, was a member of the Republican National Executive Committee the ensuing four years, was chairman of the State Committee in 1869, and also a candidate for Congress on the Independent Republican ticket, and was supported chiefly by ex-Confederates. The year 1869 was also eventful in another respect in the life of Col. Fisk, for during that year the happy marriage between himself and Miss Mary E. Doolittle, his present wife, took place at his old home in Ohio. Mrs. Fisk is highly appreciated for her intelligence and many noble qualities. Their union has been blessed with a son and a daughter, the former is about twenty-two years of age and the latter twelve.

After residing in the south for eight years he determined to seek a new home. Believing that the west afforded a better opportunity for ambitious and energetic men, he came to Denver, arriving there in the spring of 1873. He embarked at once in real estate, but served as Clerk of the District Court in 1878, 1879 and 1880. He was the chief promoter of the Denver Circle Railroad, President of the Denver Circle Real Estate Company, President of the Denver Land & Improvement Company, and President of The American Trust Company. Has been for years an active member of the Chamber of

Commerce and the Real Estate Exchange, and has been connected with a large number of strong companies, organized for the purpose of buying and selling property, and developing the resources of Colorado and contiguous States and Territories.

He is interested in a number of mines, producing gold and silver, is engaged in banking, possesses large interests at Ogden, Utah, is one of the most extensive farmers in Colorado, and is engaged in raising horses and cattle. In fact, there has been no enterprise during the past nineteen years that has been set on foot looking to the advancement and material prosperity of the city or State, with which he not been prominently identified.

He has not only been phenomenally successful as a business man, but his talents are highly appreciated as a writer and speaker. He possesses a happy combination of faculties—one that is rarely met with in a man who is the manager of so many enterprises of such magnitude and of such varied character. It is supposed that the demands and the burdens of business would so far outweigh his desire and taste for literature, that his library and love of books would be almost wholly neglected. Not so. He is a great reader and a most enthusiastic student. His writings and speeches are not only distinguished for the weight and abundance of their practical information and good sense but also for their vigor and their graceful style.

His addresses before literary societies, business and commercial organizations and the public, in Denver, and throughout the west, his

"Tribute to Lincoln," "Sherman the Great Captain," "Memories of the Great Rebellion," "Campaign against Vicksburg," and lastly his speech at New Orleans before the Trans-Mississippi Congress on the subject of Free Coinage, are models of vigorous English and replete with practical thought and information.

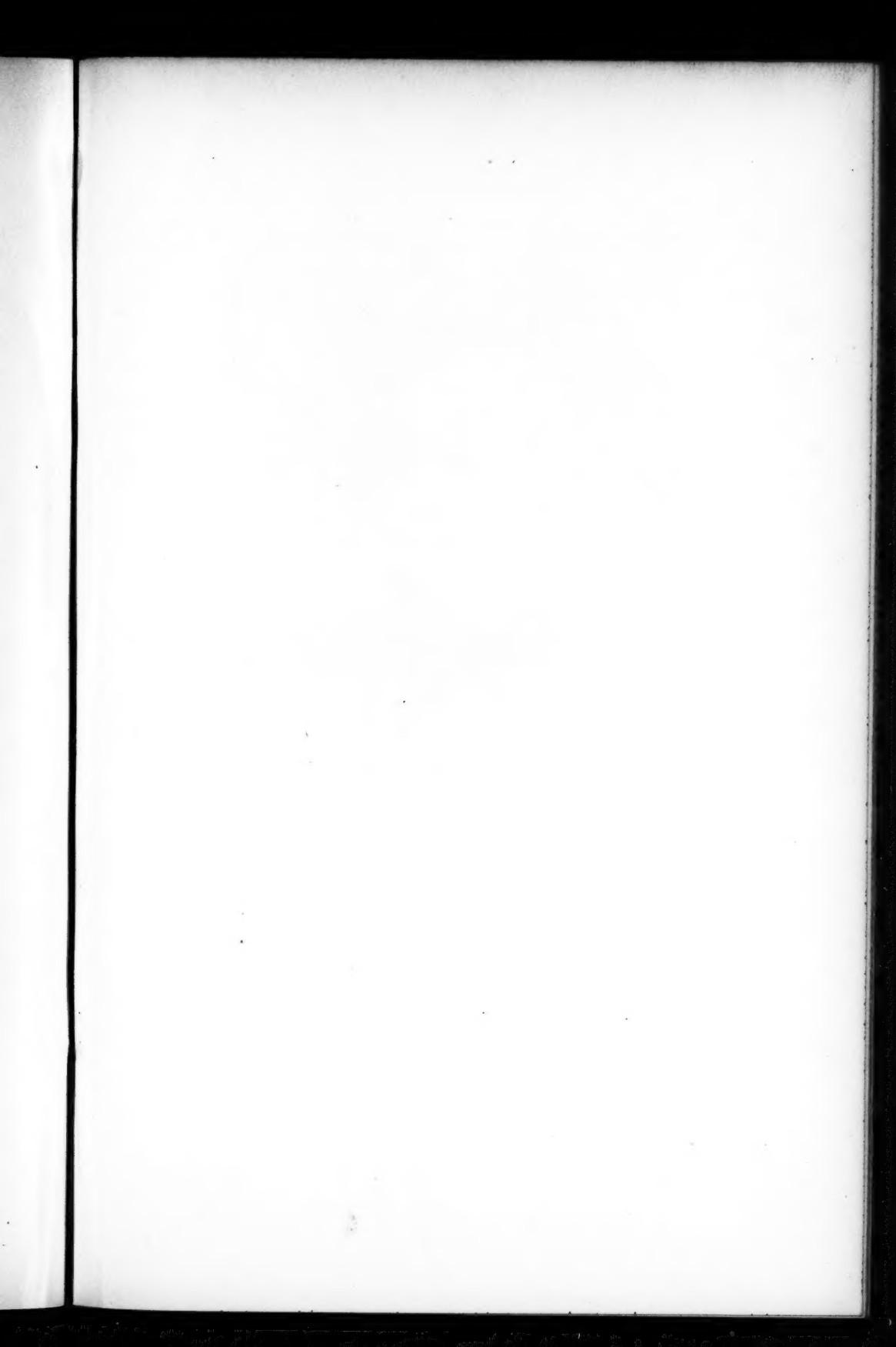
Among his private papers are autograph letters from Generals Grant, Sherman, Logan, and other noted men, showing relations of the most cordial character between him and these distinguished soldiers and citizens.

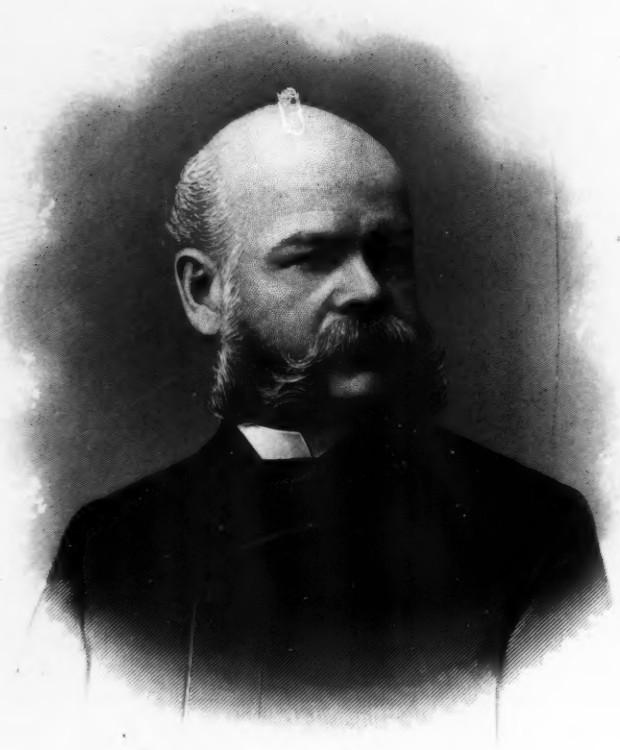
Shrewd, cautious, capable, methodical, he abhors idleness and seizes the hours as they pass, for some separate and special employment. With his recreations as seasons of more serious pursuits, and how well he has joined to his tact for business and general literature, the knowledge of human nature and the character of men, his success in life clearly demonstrates.

His public spirit is evinced by his acts and deeds! If a railroad is in contemplation, a manufacturing establishment is seeking a location, a charitable institution to be erected, capital for any laudable purpose seeking investment in Denver, if the railroads are discriminating against Denver merchants and shippers, if the people are striving to overthrow a corrupt State or municipal government, no man is more prompt to respond to any or all of these than Col. Fisk. But his la-

bors have not been confined wholly to Denver or the State of his adoption. Quick to grasp and comprehend problems of a national character, he has spent much of his time and exerted his talents in efforts to bring about the union of the western States, upon such questions and such policies as would be mutually beneficial. It was Col. Fisk who first suggested the holding of the Trans-Mississippi Commercial Congresses and it was through his influence that they were called together. These great gatherings of representative men have done much in moulding public sentiment and influencing national legislation in favor of western interests. The discussions of subjects that directly interest the producing classes and especially the discussion of free coinage, has done more to give the present movement in favor of the People's Party an impetus, than any other one cause.

The city of his residence, however, is his especial pride. Indeed, Denver without men like Col. Fisk would have been less aggressive, and would not to-day stand forth as the "Queen City of the Plains." Ever awake to her best interests and jealous of her welfare, he has early and late and at all times, worked hard in her behalf. Go where one will throughout the length and breadth of that fair city, and at every quarter of the compass one will see a monument of some kind, great or small, with whose planning and construction is associated the name of Col. Archie C. Fisk.





Engraving by William Newell

Warner Van Norden

NEW YORK BANKERS.

WARNER VAN NORDEN.

MR. WARNER VAN NORDEN, President of the Bank of North America, and one of the ablest financiers of New York city, was born in this city on the 2nd of July, 1841. Mr. Van Norden is the representative of one of the oldest Dutch, as also one of the oldest Huguenot families, that have figured in the early history of New York.

The Van Norden's came from Holland to Petrus Stuyvesant's city about the year 1640, while some of the founders of Mr. Van Norden's mother's family in America — a mingled Dutch and Huguenot ancestry—reached New Amsterdam still earlier. Two of these ancestors, Abraham de la Noy, and Jean Mousnier de la Montagnie, were French Huguenots, who had been driven out of their native land by the revocation of the Edict of Nantes. Montagnie very soon became prominent in the affairs of New Amsterdam, and served under Stuyvesant as Governor of Fort Orange (Albany).

Another famous ancestor of Mr. Van Norden's mother was the Rev. Dr. Everardus Bogardus, who, beginning to preach in 1633, in the fortified church near the present "Battery," was the first Dutch "dominie," and hence the first Presbyterian, installed in New Amsterdam. As a descendant of Dr. Bogardus, Mr. Van Norden is one of the Anneke Jans heirs, who claim the ownership of the great Trinity Church property

and have been engaged for many years in a famous litigation to gain possession.

Other old New York families to whom Mr. Van Norden is connected by blood and marriage ties are the Roomes, Kiersteds, Kips, Van Nests, Waldrons and Vermilyes. His great-great-grandfather, Adriance Hoghland once owned all the land now occupied by Riverside Park, and long known as the DeKay farm.

Mr. Van Norden was early trained to a commercial life, entering a great wholesale produce concern of this city when a mere lad. He was quick to learn, reliable and trustworthy, and very soon won promotion and an enviable place in the esteem of his employers. Such was their confidence, that, while still a youth, he was placed in charge of a branch house in New Orleans. Soon after this he entered into business on his own account, and prospered from the outset. He was presently elected president of a bank, and in 1876 he retired from a commercial life, returned from New Orleans to New York city, and engaged in private banking, while at the same time interesting himself in a number of banking, railroad and other financial enterprises. In January, 1891, he was elected President of the Bank of North America, one of the oldest and soundest financial institutions in the city.

Mr. Van Norden is also a director of the Home Insurance Company, the

Holland Trust Company, the American Savings Bank, a Wisconsin banking house, the Mobile & Ohio Railroad Company, and several industrial organizations. He is a member of the Chamber of Commerce, Vice-President of the Holland Society, and a member of the Metropolitan and Lawyer's clubs. He is also President of the South Yuba Water Company.

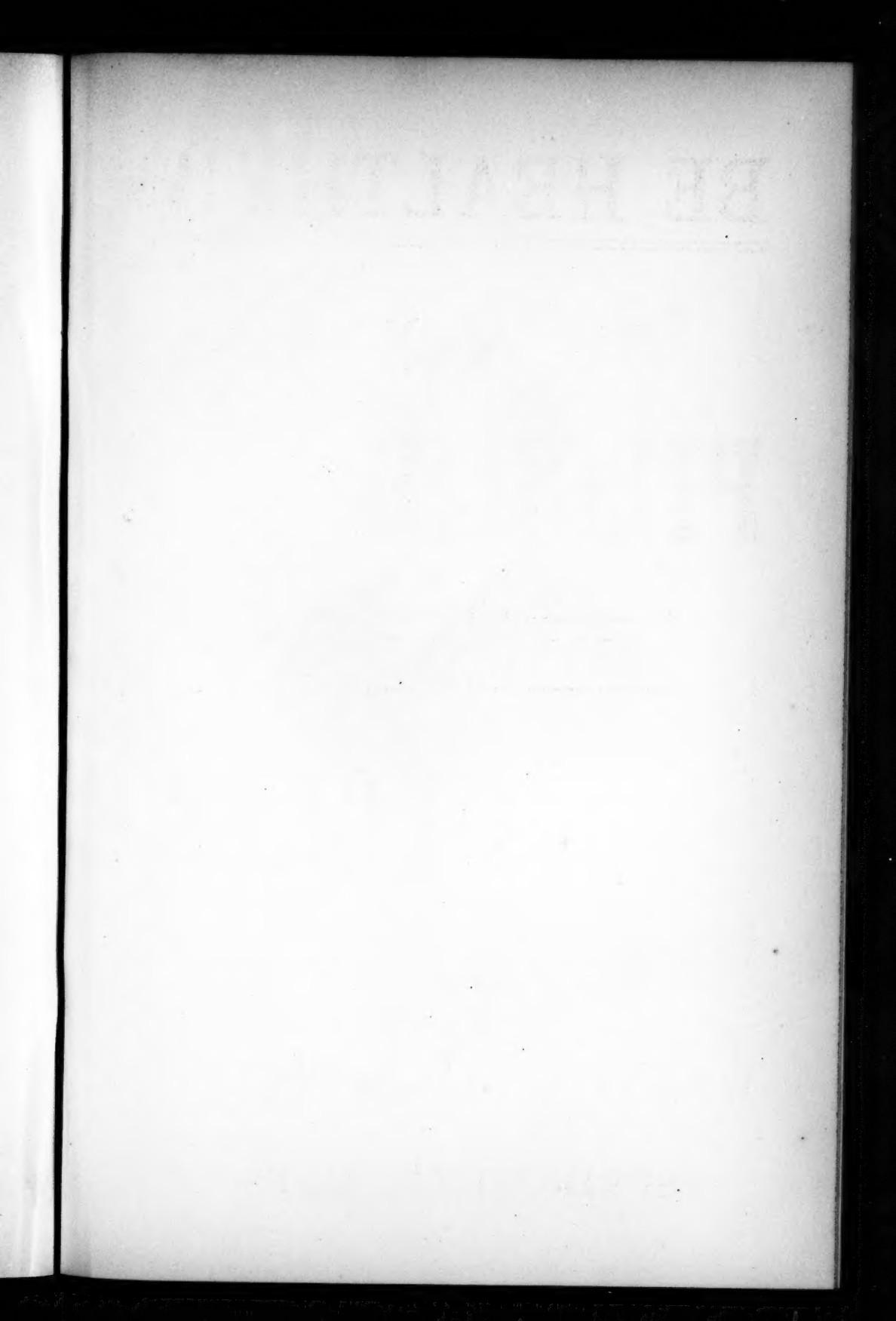
Like his famous ancestor, Dr. Boggardus, Mr. Van Norden is a Presbyterian churchman, and is active and prominent in religious circles. He is a trustee both of his Presbytery and Synod. He ranks among the foremost of Ruling Elders, has frequently served in the judicatories, and for several years was President of the Presbyterian Union, of New York city. He is active in General Assembly, as well as Presbytery and Synod, and is a member of the Committee on Church Extension. Besides this, he is a prominent and active member of the Board for Foreign Missions, a director of and

much interested in the American Tract Society, director of the Association for Improving the Condition of the Poor, and a trustee of Elmira College.

Mr. Van Norden has been specially fitted for this great burden of work by the possession of a magnificent physique and robust constitution inherited from his sturdy ancestors. Moreover, these natural powers he has never irritated by the use of tobacco or ardent spirits.

In addition to his shrewd business abilities and religious activities, Mr. Van Norden is possessed of rare social qualities. He has travelled much and is well read, and, possessed of a racy humor, he is in demand both as a conversationalist and an after-dinner speaker. His home is adorned with rare works of art showing a nice cultivated taste, but the atmosphere of family affection which pervades it is its rarest and most enviable adornment.







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Henry Ward Beecher.